



THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXIV

JANUARY, 1930

NO. 2

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The Missouri Historical Review is published quarterly. The subscription price is \$1.00 a year. A complete set of the Review is still obtainable—Vols. 1-23, bound, \$74.00; unbound, \$37.00. Prices of separate volumes given on request. All communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, The State Historical Society of Missouri.

"Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri, under Act of Congress, October 3, 1917, Sec. 442."

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WILLIAM F. SWITZLER

BY NORTH TODD GENTRY

Lord Macaulay said, "A people which take no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered with pride by remote descendants." This sentence is the motto of the Boone county historical society.

William F. Switzler was born in Fayette county, Kentucky, March 16, 1819; his parents were natives of Pennsylvania, and his grandparents came from Switzerland. In 1826, he moved with his parents to Fayette, Missouri, where the family resided six years, and then moved to a farm half way between Fayette and Franklin. He attended school at Mt. Forest academy, in Howard county, and one of his instructors was John T. Cleveland, a cousin of President Cleveland, who many years later appointed Colonel Switzler to an important office. Colonel Switzler read law in the office of Judge Abiel Leonard and Colonel Joe Davis, of Fayette; and later in the office of Major James S. Rollins, of Columbia. While not engaged in the active practice, Colonel Switzler was one of the best constitutional lawyers and constitutional law writers in Missouri.

In 1841, Colonel Switzler moved to Columbia, purchased the *Columbia Patriot*, which he conducted for two years, then changed the name of the paper to the *Missouri Statesman*, which he edited and published from 1843 to 1888. Once he moved from Columbia to St. Joseph, once he moved to Chillicothe and once he moved to Boonville and edited a newspaper at each place, but he remained in those cities a short time, returning to Columbia, his son Irvin and his brother Lewis M. conducting the *Statesman* during his absence. Colonel Switzler may well be called "Dean of Missouri Journalists," and it was appropriate that the first building, on the Missouri University campus to be occupied by the

*Address delivered before Boone County Historical Society, Friday evening, June 7, 1929.

school of journalism should have been named Switzler Hall, in his honor.

Colonel Switzler was noted for the fair way in which he wrote articles especially on political subjects. While he was a Whig during the time that party flourished, and a Democrat from 1860 on, his newspaper had the reputation, and justly too, of correctly stating the political news. He would write an account of a public meeting of a different political faith, and give a correct account, and he would truthfully report the speech of a political orator, then write an editorial and answer that orator's argument. He would truthfully tell of the size of the company attending a political gathering, and also whether there was much or little enthusiasm; and the reader could depend on what he published. Many incidents might be given of the accuracy of this editor of the old school. A Columbia lady moved with her husband to Colorado and died several years later, her funeral taking place in Columbia. Of course Colonel Switzler wrote an appropriate article regarding this good woman, but he did not know the date of her marriage. So he asked a relative, who said it was about 1864, but that did not suit Colonel Switzler. He had the relative to write to Colorado and ascertain the exact date of her marriage, and he postponed the obituary notice in his paper till the next week, when he was able to state the facts correctly.

At one time the county court had trouble ascertaining at what term of court a certain order had been made, when someone visited Colonel Switzler's office and procured a copy of the *Statesman*. As this copy of the paper showed at what term of court the order was made, the court declined to look any further, saying that the paper, during the editorship of Colonel Switzler, was always correct.

In 1885, Colonel Switzler was an aspirant for the position of chief of the bureau of statistics, and visited President Cleveland in Washington. Knowing that Colonel Switzler was so accurate, his friends in Columbia told it on him that, in talking with the President, he said, "Mr. President, I have the finest memory of any man in the world. I can take a half bushel measure of shelled corn, give each grain a name

and a number, recognize the grain thereafter and call it by its proper name and number." When Colonel Switzler heard this story that the "boys" in Columbia had started, he said, "Well, if I said that, it was correct."

Colonel Switzler's memory was a matter of comment in his home town, and often did persons ask him questions for the purpose of testing its accuracy. Once about 1902, Moss P. Parker, Ed M. Price and others had a discussion regarding the date of the death of their grandparents, Moss Prewitt and wife, and which died first. They saw Colonel Switzler walking by and called on him for the desired information. Promptly, Colonel Switzler said, "Moss Prewitt died on the 27th day of February, 1871, and his wife died one month and five days before." Mr. Parker and Mr. Price did not know whether that was right or wrong; but on visiting the Columbia Cemetery, they saw that Colonel Switzler's memory was corroborated by the inscription on the Prewitt tombstone.

Colonel Switzler's paper was noted for its accuracy, even in minor details, for he said in publishing that paper he was writing history, and he was. Today, many, many persons visit the library of The State Historical Society in this city and read and re-read the *Statesman* files, feeling assured that the same are dependable. Colonel Switzler was careful to have proper names spelled correctly, and often asked a visitor in Columbia how to spell his name, and also asked his initials. I recall once to have seen an item similar to this in the *Statesman*, "In our last issue, we stated that Mr. John T. Smith had sold his business house in Columbia; we intended to say that Mr. John W. Smith had sold his business house."

Colonel Switzler insisted on definitely stating the facts in death, wedding and birth notices. One day a man brought him a short obituary notice, in which it was stated that a lady died on "Wednesday morning last." Colonel Switzler said, "That is about as indefinite as saying that she 'died on the 16th instant;' for notices of that kind are cut out of newspapers and laid away, and in a few years they furnish no information at all, except that the party died." He wanted a notice to say that the death, wedding or birth occurred on, we will say, Wednesday, June 10, 1884.

Colonel Switzler's newspaper work was done before the days of the typewriter, so he and those working for him often had to read some writing that was very difficult to decipher. At one time he said, "We have to guess whether some of our friends are writing about Samuel or Lemuel, Rocky Ford or Rocky Fork, Hinton or Hunton, Fulton or Felton, Milton or Moulton, Marion or Maries, Barth or Booth, Tuck or Turk." Yet in spite of such difficulties he published a paper that for forty-seven years was almost free from error.

Colonel Switzler used the greatest effort to avoid mistakes in his newspaper, but once a mistake got by him; and it was a good joke on him, although he laid the blame on what he was pleased to term "the wooden-headed printers." Mrs. Clara Hoffman delivered a temperance lecture in Columbia, and Colonel Switzler was asked to introduce her, which he did in his usual dignified and happy manner. In the next issue of his paper, he complimented Mrs. Hoffman and her address and intended to say, "She would always be pleasantly remembered in Columbia, even if she never returned." But the printer omitted one word and the sentence read, "She would always be pleasantly remembered in Columbia, if she never returned."

His fondness for accuracy led him to correct others' especially in matters of history. A suit was tried in the Boone county circuit court in 1901, and the object sought was to set aside a deed on the ground that the grantor, Wm. A. Baxter, an old man, was of unsound mind. It so happened that Colonel Switzler was a witness in the case, and remained in the court room during the argument of counsel. The plaintiff's attorney, Colonel Squire Turner, insisted that the deed should be set aside because the grantor must have been of unsound mind, he then being seventy-five years old. I represented the other side, and argued that his advanced age was no proof of unsoundness of mind; that Colonel Switzler had a good mind and memory, yet he was a very old man, he being the only survivor of those who sailed up the Mississippi river with DeSoto. Colonel Switzler spoke up and said, "That is a mistake, sir, DeSoto did not sail up the Mississippi;

he simply sailed across the Mississippi." From that time on, Colonel Switzler was jokingly called, "DeSoto."

Colonel Switzler represented Boone county in the general assemblies of 1846-7, 1848-9 and 1856-7; and in those bodies he was associated with such well-known Missouri statesmen as Jas. S. Rollins, Jas. O. Broadhead, John B. Hale, James B. Gardenhire, Ephraim B. Ewing, Robert D. Ray, Wm. N. V. Bay, John B. Henderson, Waldo P. Johnson, George C. Bingham, Charles J. Hughes, Robert M. Stewart, Claiborne F. Jackson and B. Gratz Brown. At all times, he was active in behalf of progressive and constructive legislation, yet he voted against some measures that were popular at that time. In 1846-7, he favored the passage of acts which granted charters to schools, colleges, academies, orphans' homes, oratorio societies, savings institutions, and mining, turnpike, ferry, canal, railroad, toll bridge and fire insurance companies. He assisted in the passage of special acts establishing state roads in most of our counties, which materially assisted the cause of good roads. At this session, he secured the passage of a joint resolution, setting aside a room in the capitol building, with suitable shelves and tables, for the state historical society. He favored the acts which gave to the state university the proceeds of the sale of seminary lands. But he voted against the act which prohibited the instruction of negroes in reading and writing, and against the act which prohibited the assemblage of negroes for religious worship without some police officer being present. In the session of 1848-9, he aided in the passage of acts giving charters to horticultural societies, high schools, reading associations, colleges for young men, colleges for young women, medical colleges, hospitals, masonic and other lodges, dramatic associations, fair associations, cemetery associations, navigation companies, macadamized road companies, market houses, manufacturing companies, mill dam companies, steamboat companies, railroad companies, and an act legalizing the second marriage of a woman who believed her first husband was dead. And he favored an appropriation of two hundred dollars to purchase books for the use of convicts in the penitentiary. An act to provide for a bridge across the Mississippi at St. Louis re-

ceived his support, as did an act chartering the Boonslick turnpike company, which provided for a turnpike road across the state near the line of the Boonslick trail, close to the present state highway forty. He voted in favor of the first game law in Missouri (Laws of Mo. 1857, p. 398), which prohibited the killing of deer, quail, wild turkey and prairie chickens in Pike and Lincoln counties during certain months.

Colonel Switzler was a man who never harbored ill will toward any person or company of persons. He differed with men, yet he differed with the principle advocated by them, but did not abuse them or intimate that they were dishonest because of such differences. I will give one illustration of this; it is one of many that might be given: In 1846, Rev. Isaac Jones was pastor of the Columbia Presbyterian church, but he possessed the dignity and tried to exercise the authority of a bishop or an archbishop. Colonel Switzler was of the opinion that Mr. Jones' usefulness in the Columbia church was at an end and that the church should secure another pastor; and he expressed that opinion to the officers of the church. Thereupon, Mr. Jones preferred charges against Colonel Switzler of disloyalty, and insisted on having a trial before the church officers and a trial was had. Of course, Colonel Switzler was vindicated; but some feeling existed in the church. Mr. Jones later resigned as pastor of that church, but continued to reside in Columbia for thirty years thereafter; and he died in Columbia. Then Colonel Switzler, in spite of the unkind remarks made by Mr. Jones regarding him, had much to say in the columns of his newspaper about the many good qualities of Mr. Jones.

Colonel Switzler was a member of the Presbyterian church for more than half a century; and, while a staunch advocate of the doctrine of that religious body, he was what he termed a "liberal religiously as well as otherwise." As stated, he had differences with the pastor, and a majority of the church members were in sympathy with Colonel Switzler, and showed their sympathy by electing him a deacon. But in the interest of harmony, he declined to serve, being one of only two men to decline in the one hundred years' history of that church. He was a member of that church during the times of religious and political turmoils, yet he was charitable

toward others, printed in his paper what was said by those who differed with him, omitting therefrom the bitter personalities. He possessed a happy faculty of believing that others were as sincere in their views as he was. His sons served as elders, one in the Columbia Presbyterian church and the other in an Omaha Presbyterian church.

Colonel Switzler was president of the Columbia Lyceum, a debating and oratorical society, which held public meetings during the forties; and he delivered an oration on General William Henry Harrison. While he was a single man, he delivered an address on Christopher Columbus, and he had Mr. Robert L. Todd to hold his manuscript during the delivery. Soon Mr. Todd saw that Colonel Switzler had skipped one paragraph, but concluded not to interrupt him. At the close of the speech, Colonel Switzler discovered the omission and took Mr. Todd to task for not correcting him, saying, "I would rather Mary Jane Royall had heard that half page than all the balance of the speech." To which Mr. Todd replied, "Well, I think Mary Jane is going to have you; but there is no telling what she might say if she had heard that part of your speech." In a short time, Mary Jane and Colonel Switzler were married; and Mr. Todd suggested that "All's well that ends well." From that time on, Colonel Switzler never prepared a written speech or address.

Colonel Switzler and Miss Mary Jane Royall, both of Columbia, were married in August, 1843, and they made Columbia their home practically all the time till September, 1879, when Mrs. Switzler died. Their first residence was at the northeast corner of Broadway and Tenth, and their last residence was at the southwest corner of Walnut and Guitar streets. Three children were born of this marriage, Irvin Switzler, for many years one of the editors of the *Statesman* and later University registrar, Warren Switzler, a lawyer of Omaha, Nebraska, but now a resident of San Diego, California, and Miss Camilla, who married J. S. Branham, a well known drygoods merchant of Columbia.

In 1849, an effort was made by Colonel Switzler, Dr. William Jewell, Warren Woodson, Moss Prewitt, Robert L. Todd, Rev. Thomas M. Allen, Rev. D. P. Henderson, R. S.

Thomas, Wm. W. Hudson and others to organize a Collegiate Female Institute in Columbia. After numerous meetings and much discussion, the project failed; but, due in part to the efforts of these men, Christian College was organized in 1851, and Baptist College (now Stephens College) was organized in 1856. For some years, Colonel Switzler was one of the curators of Christian College, and aided materially in the work of the higher education of women in our state.

While not a musician himself, he advocated and assisted in organizing the first brass band which was strictly a Columbia band, in 1850. It was called the Mechanics band, and was composed solely of mechanics; B. F. Venable, a tinner and the father of our present band leader George Venable, being the leader, and other mechanics playing different instruments.

Colonel Switzler was a member and officer of the Columbia Library Association in 1858 and aided in its establishment. It was the first circulating library in central Missouri.

In 1860 he was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention at Baltimore that nominated Bell and Everett; and he made the speech placing Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, in nomination for vice-president. He was one of the presidential electors in Missouri on that ticket that year, and campaigned the state in its behalf. He was opposed to secession and nullification, and also opposed to slavery; but like many others entertained the hope that both armies would keep out of Missouri, and thereby cause Missouri to have no part in the war. But later events proved that this could not be; so Colonel Switzler, though a strong Union man, often criticised the acts of those who were fighting for the cause with which he was in sympathy. And he criticised many things that were done by Southern soldiers and by bushwhackers, which made enemies out of them. In August, 1862, two hundred guerillas made a sudden dash into Columbia, released prisoners from the county jail and visited the office of Colonel Switzler, swearing vengeance against him and threatening to demolish his office, because of union sentiments expressed by him; and on another occasion, an effort was made on the street to assassinate him. In 1863, President Lincoln appointed two Missourians to important positions in

Arkansas, John S. Phelps military governor, and Wm. F. Switzler military secretary of state; and during the same year, President Lincoln appointed Colonel Switzler provost marshal for the ninth congressional district of Missouri. In July, 1863, a public meeting was held in Columbia to take action regarding the ordinance of emancipation and the administration of Governor Hamilton R. Gamble. Major Rollins presided at this meeting, and Colonel Switzler was chairman of the committee which reported resolutions favoring the union, disapproving of rebellion and guerilla warfare and endorsing the administration of Governor Gamble. The victories of Vicksburg and Gettysburg were celebrated at a public meeting in Columbia, on July 10, 1863, and Colonel Switzler was one of the speakers. At the close of the war, he often expressed his disapproval of the carpet-baggers, and urged the people of both North and South to forget their former differences, and work for a re-united country. Because of such liberal and patriotic principles, he was criticised by many of both North and South.

In 1866, Johnson meetings were held in various parts of the country for the purpose of endorsing the actions of President Andrew Johnson. Such a meeting was held in Columbia and Colonel Switzler was chairman of the committee that prepared the resolutions and also made a speech endorsing the president.

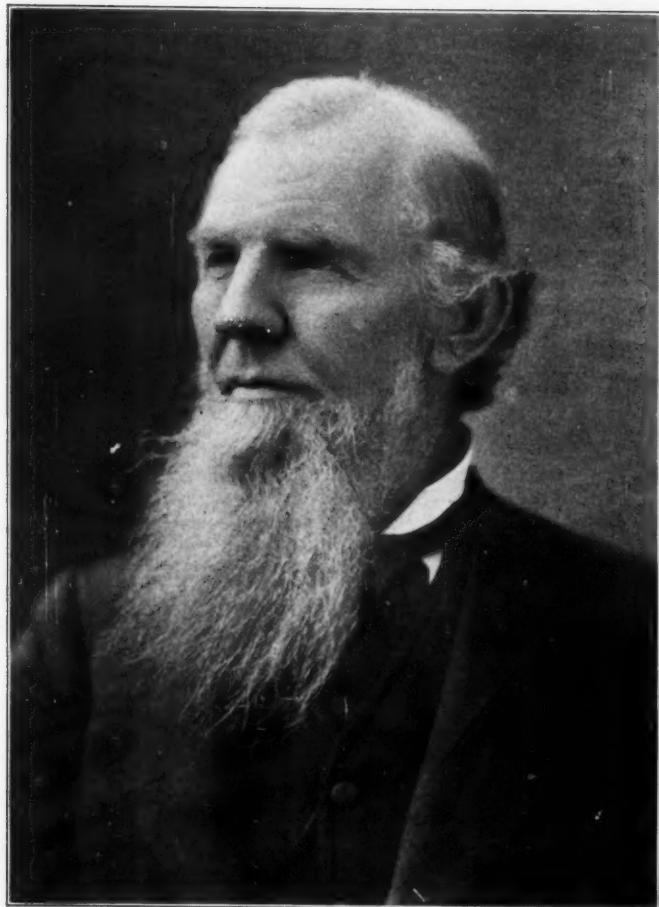
In 1866, a petition was presented by a large number of Boone county citizens to the county court, asking that county bonds be issued to aid in the construction of four gravel roads leading out from Columbia, known as the Rocheport gravel, Blackfoot gravel, Cedar creek gravel and Jefferson City (or Ashland) gravel. Jas. S. Rollins, David H. Hickman, Odon Guitar, Jas. L. Stephens and Colonel Switzler made speeches in behalf of the petitions; and the court made the order, the bonds were issued and the gravel roads were constructed, which proved of great value to the people of both town and country.

In 1866 and 1868, Colonel Switzler was a candidate for Congress in the ninth Missouri district, and he claimed each time that he was elected. That was a time when politics ran high in Missouri, and his opponent received the certificate

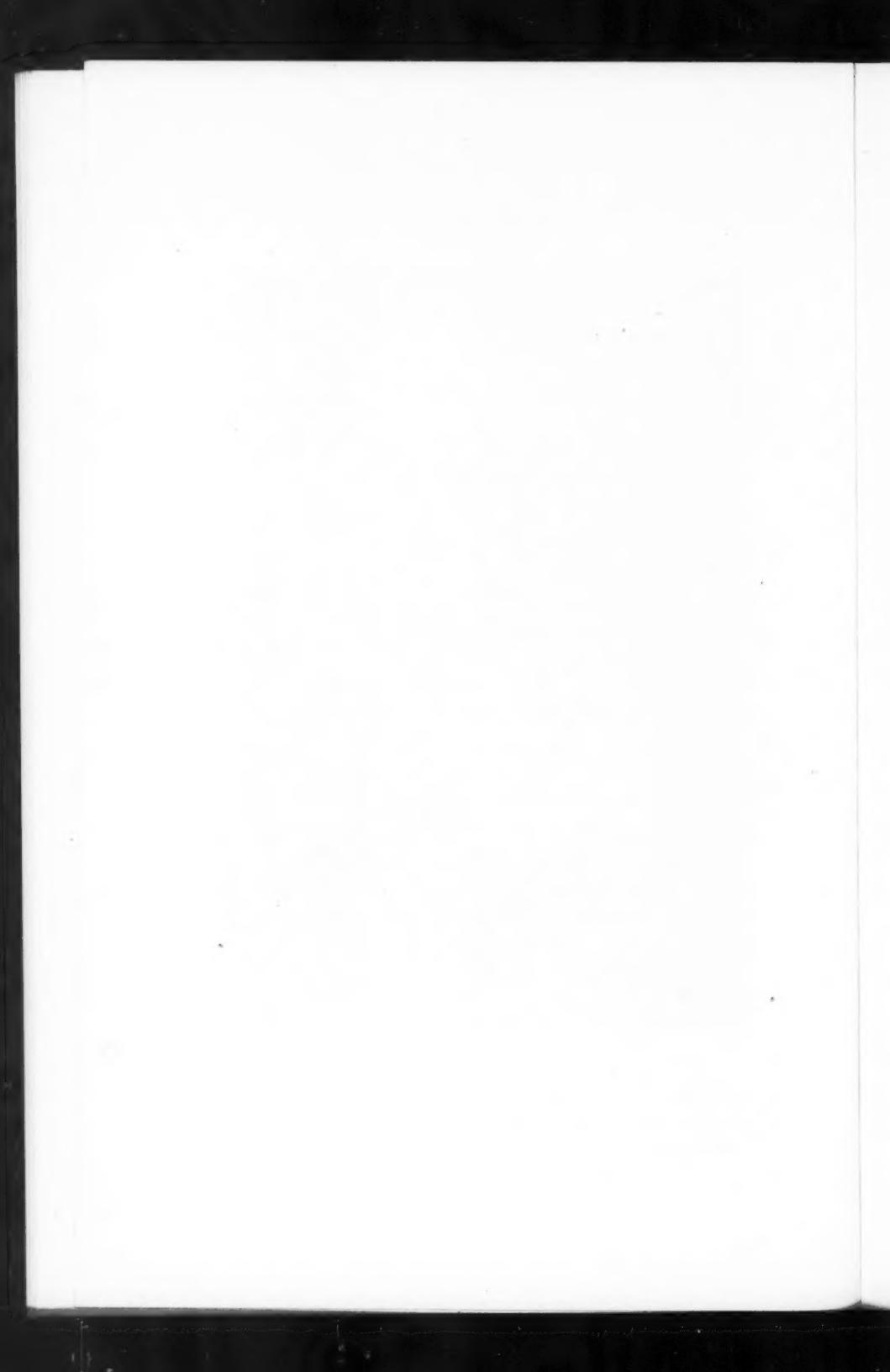
of election, and each time Colonel Switzler contested the election. Congress decided against him each time, though many persons were of the belief that he was elected. Colonel D. Pat Dyer, of Pike county, was the successful candidate in 1868; and, after the decision was in his favor, he addressed Congress as follows: "Mr. Speaker, my opponent Colonel Switzler has conducted a gentlemanly contest, and he had grounds for his contest because there was fraud committed at that election. I was not responsible for the fraud committed on my side, and Colonel Switzler was not responsible for the fraud committed in his behalf. I therefore move that he be allowed all his expenses of the contest and one-half pay for this (two-year) term." The motion prevailed. Going to the back of the hall of the House of Representatives, Colonel Dyer spoke to Colonel Switzler as follows: "Old boy, go now and draw your money and get away from here." Colonel Switzler said that he did not want to show any undue haste. To which Colonel Dyer answered, "Haste nothing, the leader of the majority is now out on committee duty, but he will be in here tomorrow and raise a row over paying you. So go and get your money and get on the other side of the Mississippi river as soon as possible." He did so; and the next morning the leader of the majority was very indignant and took Colonel Dyer to task for making such a motion, without his consent, and said that he intended to have the vote reconsidered. Colonel Dyer replied, "I don't care if you do, for Switzler, at my suggestion, drew his money yesterday and cut for home."

In November, 1870, General Robert E. Lee died, and a public meeting was held in his memory in Columbia, and Colonel Switzler, although he had recently differed with General Lee, attended the meeting and paid a beautiful tribute to the memory of the departed hero of the Southland.

In July, 1872, Colonel Switzler, Geo. G. Vest, Wm. H. Phelps, Jas. O. Broadhead, John Cosgrove, Silas Woodson, Geo. C. Bingham, H. C. Brockmeyer, James Shields, A. P. Morehouse and others were delegates from Missouri to the Baltimore Convention, which nominated Horace Greeley and B. Gratz Brown; and Colonel Switzler supported that ticket,



William F. Switzler



often called the "liberal Republican ticket," at the general election. He also supported Silas Woodson, the successful Democratic candidate for governor that year.

Colonel Switzler was a member of the Missouri constitutional convention of 1865, and also of the constitutional convention of 1875, the only man to be honored by a seat in both conventions. He was the author of Article XI of the constitution of 1875, containing the provisions on the subject of education, which have been and are of so much value to the state university and our public schools.

Colonel Switzler showed himself to be a friend of education, both higher education and education in the lower branches. In his newspaper, he always advocated better schools for Columbia and Boone county, and more buildings, more equipment and better teachers and better paid teachers for all our schools. In 1871 and again in 1882, he was appointed curator of the university, the last time serving till 1885. He was curator at the time the legislative appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars was obtained with which the two wings were added to the main building of the university; and he served till these additions were almost completed. The columns of his paper were ever open to the advocacy of a greater and better university, and he worked to that end for nearly half a century. Often did he go at his own expense to Jefferson City and urge the members of the General Assembly to appropriate money for the university, although he could ill afford to go to such expense.

Colonel Switzler was also a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congress in 1872, and was opposed by General John B. Clark, of Howard county. The congressional convention was deadlocked for several days, and on a compromise, General Clark's son, John B. Clark, Jr., was nominated, and later elected.

In 1880, Colonel Switzler and Colonel E. C. More were candidates for the Democratic nomination for Congress, and they agreed to have a race in Boone county for that county's delegation to the congressional convention. Colonel Switzler was successful in securing a majority of the votes in Boone county and therefore had the county delegation to the con-

gressional convention, but was defeated in the convention by John B. Clark, Jr., of Howard county. The race between Colonel Switzler and Colonel More was made a bitter one by the actions of friends of both candidates; yet, when Colonel More died in 1902, Colonel Switzler wrote an article for one of the Columbia newspapers that was highly complimentary of Colonel More.

In debate, Colonel Switzler was quick to take advantage of the argument of an opponent, and could easily "turn the tide" in his favor. During the above-mentioned race for Congress, Colonel More, in a speech in the court house, quoted from Shakespeare and William Tell. In his reply, Colonel Switzler said, "My opponent has a good deal to tell you about William Shakespeare and William Tell; but when this campaign is over, he will have a good deal more to tell you about William Switzler."

His opponent for delegate to the 1875 constitutional convention criticised Switzler's record during the war, and intimated that he was on both sides. Then Colonel Switzler said, "Let us see something about the record of my opponent, the present great champion of Southern rights! He was in Illinois before the war, in Montana during the war, and in Boone county after the war." All of which was true.

In 1885, at the request of Senators Cockrell and Vest, President Cleveland appointed Colonel Switzler to a position in the treasury department, that of chief of the bureau of statistics; and he held that office with great credit to himself and the administration during President Cleveland's term and a part of President Harrison's term. He was eminently qualified for such a position, and many persons of a different political faith urged that he be retained. He achieved a national reputation as a statistician, and it has been conceded that few if any men in that office have equaled him. While a resident of Washington, Colonel Switzler delivered a temperance lecture in one of the churches of that city, and astonished his listeners by stating that he never drank a drop of liquor. As he was then holding a political office and had been prominent politically in Missouri, they expected him to say that he was a reformed drunkard. Colonel Switzler said

that some of his audience looked like they did not believe him when he said that he had been a consistent temperance man all his life, that he had been president of the local society of Sons of Temperance of Columbia in 1845, one of the speakers in 1877 during the Murphy movement, sometimes called the "Blue ribbon movement," and later state president of the Order of Good Templars in 1879, and did not know how liquor tasted.

Colonel Switzler was a fluent speaker, and was called on many times to speak at public functions in various parts of Missouri; and he always had something to say that was both interesting and instructive. In 1847, he was one of the speakers at the dedication of the new Boone county court house (the second court house building). In June, 1851, he spoke at a picnic on the Ishmael VanHorn farm, at the time of the opening of the covered bridge across Perche creek, near the present state highway forty. This bridge was constructed by Travis Burroughs, who would now be called the "contractor," but who was then called the "undertaker." This covered bridge still stands. In 1855, the Columbia and Missouri river plank road, popularly known as the Providence plank road, was completed, as was the covered bridge across Hinkson creek on the line of that road; and Colonel Switzler was one of the speakers at the opening of that road and bridge. It was said that the young people of both town and country celebrated the opening of that bridge by having a dance thereon, which was the old time "Quadrille," and that Colonel Switzler acted as "prompter." He was one of the speakers at the ground-breaking exercises for the Boone County and Jefferson City railroad (now Columbia branch of the Wabash railroad) in 1866, and one of the speakers in 1871 on the occasion of the arrival of the first train of cars in Mexico over the Louisiana & Missouri River Railroad, now Chicago & Alton. He was one of the speakers in 1871 at the laying of the corner stone of the Scientific building of the University of Missouri (afterwards named Switzler hall); and one of the speakers on July 4, 1890, the occasion being the semi-centennial of the laying of the corner stone of the main building of the university; and one of the speakers at the get-together meet-

ing the morning after the destruction by fire of that building, January 10, 1892, and one of the speakers on the occasion of the laying of the corner stone of the present First Presbyterian church of Columbia in November, 1893. He was one of the speakers at meetings in Columbia, Hallsville, Centralia, Sturgeon, Harrisburg, Rocheport, Providence, Claysville and Ashland on the fourth of July, Washington's birthday, Missouri day, Old Settlers' reunions and other patriotic occasions. He even became an actor temporarily, when at a patriotic celebration in 1876 in the Boone county court house, he and Mrs. Switzler dressed in "Ye olden style," and represented Benjamin Franklin and wife.

Colonel Switzler was for some years president of the Columbia Cemetery Association; and, with his own hands, planted many of the shade trees that now ornament the cemetery entrance and grounds. To Colonel Switzler, Major Jas. S. Rollins, Colonel Francis T. Russell, Jas. H. Waugh, Jefferson Garth and Robert L. Todd the credit is due for the beautiful avenues and grounds of the old cemetery, the money for which was advanced by them.

Colonel Switzler was a gentleman of the old school, courteous to and thoughtful of others. He many times said that he never appeared on the street or went to a meal without his coat; and he never called anyone by a nickname.

He was noted for his punctuality, especially in returning books or papers that he had borrowed. He once asked me to loan him a letter, and said, "I will read this letter and return it to you tomorrow; some persons borrow books and papers but never return them; I always do." And the next day, he did return this letter.

In 1890, he was one of the first to advocate the establishment of a water works and electric light plant and sewer system in Columbia, and the drainage of old ponds and wells. He heartily supported the first high school proposition in 1896; and he was one of the first to advocate a postoffice building in Columbia in 1900; and a little later he was active in behalf of the building of a new courthouse, which was erected a short time after his death. The last article that Colonel Switzler wrote was published about one week before

his death; in this he urged that the old courthouse (court-house of 1847) be preserved and used for a public library. Today, we all regret that our county did not follow his advice in this instance.

Colonel Switzler was well posted in history, and wrote and published a history of Missouri, also one of Boone county, and finally one of the University of Missouri. These histories show great care in their preparation and an intimate acquaintance with the subjects discussed. Like the histories which he wrote, the public utterances of Colonel Switzler are noted for being fair to all persons as well as to all organizations. At a meeting of teachers in Columbia a few years before his death, the person who was to speak on Missouri history did not appear, so a committee hunted up Colonel Switzler and asked him to speak. Without a minute's notice, he accepted the invitation and delivered a most instructive address. Because of the wonderful fund of information that he possessed, some of his acquaintances were pleased to call him a "Walking Encyclopedia" but one of his Columbia friends, Mr. John M. Samuel, a decided humorist, termed him a "Webster's Unabridged, with Marginal Notes."

Colonel Switzler was not given to complaining, due partly to the remarkable good health that he enjoyed for so many years. When a friend would ask him how he felt, he would reply, "I am no better,—no better than I was fifty years ago." And when asked his age, he would not admit that he was old, but would say, "I am eighty-five years young."

The last years of his life were spent in writing articles for different newspapers and magazines, and compiling and writing his history of the University of Missouri.

His wonderful memory stayed with him almost till the last. Will you pardon one incident of a personal nature, which occurred shortly before his death, and which was the only time I ever saw him when his mind was not perfectly clear. I was then assistant attorney-general and was temporarily living in Jefferson City; but came to Columbia when I learned of the serious illness of Colonel Switzler. I was permitted to visit the sick room about nine a. m., just as his daughter, Mrs. Branham, was giving him his breakfast; but

he was complaining. Although his daughter prepared many good things for a sick man to eat, nothing tasted good to him, and especially did his coffee not suit him. When Mrs. Brantham called his attention to me and asked if he knew me, Colonel Switzler looked up at me and said, "Yes, you make a good assistant attorney-general, but you don't make good coffee."

Colonel Switzler died in Columbia, the town for which he did so much, on May 24, 1906, at the advanced age of eighty-seven years; and his funeral occurred in the Columbia Presbyterian church, the church with which he was so long connected; and his burial in the Columbia Cemetery, the cemetery for which he had so long and so faithfully labored. Having spent so much of his life working for others, he died a poor man; and a modest stone marks his last resting place. But let us hope that a monument stands in the memories of those interested in the many good causes that he advocated, and that an appreciative people remember with pride the life and labors of this distinguished Missourian, William F. Switzler.

JOHN SAPPINGTON

BY THOMAS B. HALL

Histories of the development and expansion of the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century devote much space to our martial and political champions, but are silent on the man who was the foremost antagonist of a disease which was one of the greatest barriers to the growth of our country during that era. Perhaps if he had lived during our time when there is a growing disposition to recognize the importance of disease and to give due credit to those who do the most to overcome it, John Sappington would rank as great a champion of the West, as his friend, Thomas Hart Benton, and his aid in overcoming an obstacle to our development would be as much appreciated as that of Gorgas in the building of the Panama Canal.

There are students of medical history who contend that malaria has caused more deaths, sickness and economic loss than any other disease that afflicts mankind. This disease has been known since historic times and was described in unmistakable terms by Hippocrates, the father of medicine. The decline of the Greek civilization and the disintegration of the Roman Empire have been partly attributed by conservative scholars to the pernicious influence of malaria. The inability of the French to complete the Panama Canal due to the frightful toll of malaria and yellow fever is recent and common knowledge.

Much romance and lore are connected with the discoveries that have enabled us to gain our comparative freedom from malaria. The first step came with the discovery of the quinine-containing Peruvian bark in the seventeenth century by the Jesuit missionaries to Peru. Peruvian bark was gradually introduced into Europe and became the popular remedy for malarial fevers. As great an advance as the advent of Peruvian bark marked, it was not without its serious shortcomings. The barks were of different variety and varied greatly in their quinine content. This made it im-

possible for the physicians to prescribe it accurately and to arrive at a standard treatment and dosage. Its irritating cortical and inert material often defeated its purpose when given in adequate doses by causing vomiting and purging. The pernicious practice of some avaricious traders of substituting other barks for Peruvian bark tended to shake the faith of those thus duped in its effectiveness as a cure for malaria. The bulkiness of the bark, preventing its proper protection from the atmosphere and other deleterious agents made it subject to considerable deterioration during transportation and storage. The cure of malaria with the bark was not so sure and easy that the physicians learned to rely on it alone, but generally practiced bleeding, vomiting and purging in this disease as they did in others. This we now know was not only not necessary, but harmful.

Tardily, indeed, did a statue arise in 1900 to the French chemists, Pelletier and Caventon, who isolated quinine from Peruvian bark in 1820. Millions have already been saved by their discovery. Quinine, the outstanding specific in medicine, transforms malaria from a disease with a terrific mortality to one which is most amenable to this precious remedy. The sureness with which quinine cures malaria is indicated by the aphorism, "A fever which resists quinine in adequate doses is not malarial." It is reported that the recent epidemic in Russia had the appalling mortality of 40% in certain areas due to the scarcity of quinine.

The next contribution was also made by a Frenchman, Dr. Alphonse Laveran, who discovered in 1880 the malaria parasite in the blood.

The final link in the chain was contributed by Sir Ronald Ross, who proved in 1897 that the mosquito carried the malaria organism from man to man, thus disproving the miasmatic theory which has been in vogue since the time of Hippocrates. Humanity owes much to these men, who by their discoveries have enabled us to understand and combat this disease.

Few, even among physicians, realize how prevalent malaria was and what an obstacle it presented during the colonization and development of our own country. The malaria-

carrying anopheles mosquito was a far greater barrier than the Indian.

While the inhabitants of the original Atlantic seaboard states suffered from the first, severely with malaria, the clearing and cultivation of the land and the development of the cities, tended to overcome or hold in abeyance the disease.

At the close of the eighteenth century, malaria was common throughout the United States, with the exception of the New England states, where it seems to have become infrequent, at least in certain communities.

During the first half of the nineteenth century when the expansion and development of our country was taking place in all directions, in and from the original states, malaria became most rampant among many of the developing frontier communities.

The great prevalence of malaria is not surprising when we consider the favorable conditions which existed for its development and spread. The malaria-carrying anopheles mosquito was practically ubiquitous throughout that large territory, limited on the east and south by the Atlantic coast and Gulf of Mexico, on the north by the Great Lakes region, and on the west by the advance outposts on the Mississippi river and its tributaries. Malarious individuals from the older communities were no doubt present in each new settlement to act as a focus of infection for the uninfected persons.

The expansion of our country took place in a large measure by way of the rivers, particularly those of the Mississippi system. The towns developed on the river banks, and the rivers served as the chief means of transportation and trade. The slow rate of travel by water or overland allowed ample time for the uninfected individuals to become infected while traveling through the malarious districts. Adjacent to the streams, stagnant water abounded offering ideal breeding places for the mosquito. The protection that the people had against these pests was poor at best. Screens were unknown, insecure and fragile mosquito bar offering the only barrier in this line. The settler's house, usually of logs and with no glass in the windows, allowed free access to these insects. Smudges offered an uncertain and ineffective pro-

tection against the myriads of mosquitoes which were then considered pests and not the carriers of disease.

The writings of the physicians who lived in the developing west and south during the first half of the nineteenth century give us a conception as to the great prevalence of malaria. The well known Daniel Drake, M. D., of Cincinnati, Ohio, writing in 1830, on malaria, states, "that there is a noxious gas [miasmatic theory] given out throughout the great Mississippi Valley system which affects the people of the west and south." The same author, in his "Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America," (1850-1854) ranks malaria as the most important disease, and describes it as prevailing extensively throughout the Mississippi valley, extending from Wheeling on the upper Ohio, New Orleans on the south, Chicago on the Great Lakes, and Burlington and Galena on the upper Mississippi and the then western towns, Arrow Rock and Lexington on the Missouri river.

James Mann, M. D., in 1816 states that intermitting fever (malaria) is endemic and the most prevalent disease in the northwestern territories.

Samuel Forry, M. D., writing on malaria in 1842, quotes Dr. Heustis on the prevalence of this disease in Alabama, as follows: "In 1821, 1822 and 1823, the country was dreadfully sickly and the mortality great and appalling. Many flourishing towns upon the rivers, which had risen up as it were by the hand of enchantment, received a sudden check and became suddenly almost totally abandoned from death and destruction." The same author quotes Dr. Hildreth as stating that malaria was of a most fatal character throughout the valley of the Ohio.

Dr. Farrar, an early physician of St. Louis, is quoted as declaring that he could distinguish the inhabitants of the American bottom (lowlands opposite St. Louis) by their pale and sickly appearance.

Austin Flint, M. D., of Buffalo, N. Y., writing in 1841, stated that malaria prevailed very generally throughout the United States.

Medical periodicals published during the first half of the nineteenth century are replete with articles on malaria, showing that the disease was a major problem with the profession and that it occupied more of their time and thought than any other disease. More than one book was written during this period dealing principally or entirely with this disease.

Even at the time of the Civil war, malaria caused more sickness and deaths among the troops of both armies than any other disease.

The lay writers of this period present evidence hardly less conclusive than the medical as to the great prevalence of malaria. The well known naturalist, Audubon, describes in the "Squatters of the Mississippi," the ravages and prevalence of malaria on the banks of the Mississippi. From his account, we infer that the disease was a universal affliction of the inhabitants along the banks of this river.

We read in Morse's "Western Gazetteer" (1810) in regard to Louisville, Ky., "that its unhealthiness due to stagnating waters back of the town has considerably retarded its growth." "Davenport's Gazetteer" (1836) goes so far as to contrast the ruddy complexion of the inhabitants of New England, Western Pennsylvania, and the southern highlands with the paleness of the inhabitants of the other parts of the United States.

A history of Saline County, Missouri, (1881) records that one of the early settlements (1812-1820) was abandoned due to the prevalence of "shaking agues." Likewise, a history of Howard County reveals that during its development, a town on the Missouri river reached the population of about one thousand, to be abandoned on account of the great amount of sickness due to malaria. It is to be noted that the settlements in these counties were the ones farthest west on the Missouri river at that time (1812-1820). Many early settlements below these on the Missouri and Mississippi rivers fared little better.

While malaria was rife throughout the whole Mississippi valley, it was perhaps nowhere more prevalent than in that territory contiguous to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, at and

near their junctions. Victor Vaughn in his delightful book "A Doctor's Memories," states that as late as 1865, when he was a lad in Southern Illinois, "every man, woman and child in this region, shook with ague every other day." Charles Dickens, the English novelist, in his description of the ravages wrought by malaria in the Mississippi valley settlement of Eden has given us a picture probably not overdrawn. Thousands of emigrants each year passed through this area by water or overland. Doubtless many if not already infected became so during their journey through this intensely malinous district. The majority of the members of a large family from Virginia passing through this region are known to have succumbed to malaria; probably other families of whom we have no record fared little better.

Few of the lay writers who passed through the southern and western states during the first half of the nineteenth century fail to mention the prevalence of malaria.

While we have no exact statistical data available it is probable that in many communities the infection with the disease was at or near one hundred per cent of the population. During the months of July, August and September (the sickly season), when malaria was most rife, the conditions were appalling in many of the new settlements. There was scarcely a family which did not have one or more of its members stricken, and in many instances, the well were hard put to take care of the sick and dying. The physicians often stricken themselves were unable to attend to the sick of the widely scattered and distant settlements. Transportation and trade and the activities of the farm and shop were suspended and whole communities were paralyzed only to recover with the welcome frosts of autumn, which liberated the people from the bondage of this disease. Malaria existed in communities which now are absolutely free of the disease, to a degree one would be unable to find today outside of the tropics. Perhaps a physician of Missouri, Dr. John Sappington, who had practiced in several states and who had a clear insight into the prevalence and character of malaria, was not far wrong when he states in 1848, "that nine-tenths of the fevers of this state and most other states partake of this character." It is

impossible to calculate the deaths, sickness and economic loss which resulted from the great prevalence of this disease.

True, malaria was not the only disease that the settlers had to contend with. However, from its character, it overshadowed all other diseases. It is a disease to which everyone is susceptible, one in which one attack does not confer immunity and one having a marked tendency toward chronicity (if not properly treated with quinine) with a formidable array of resulting complications. The most beneficial act the United States government could have performed for its inhabitants in the intensely malarious districts would have been the wholesale introduction of quinine at the time of the discovery in 1820. However, the government could hardly be expected to have done this, as the physicians themselves were slow to recognize the great advantages of quinine over the Peruvian bark and that quinine in itself was sufficient to effect the cure of malaria (as is now universally admitted) without any adjuvant treatment. The bark which had been in use for centuries was not supplanted by its most important alkaloid quinine as soon as it should have been. Daniel Drake, M. D., a leader of the profession during his time, writing in 1830 (ten years after the discovery of quinine) states that he prefers the bark to quinine in chronic cases. Some physicians, as their case histories in the medical periodicals and publications show, were still using the bark as late as 1840. The violently depletive system of bleeding, vomiting and purging was naturally practiced with the use of quinine as it had been with the bark.

Not only were the physicians slow to realize that quinine was a certain cure for malaria, but were actually prejudiced against its use when the patient had fever. They held the erroneous opinion that quinine was a powerful stimulant and if given during the febrile stage would increase the fever and act as a powerful vascular and cerebral stimulant. The prevailing practice was to attempt to reduce the fever by copious bloodletting, drastic purging and vomiting, thus much valuable time was lost before the physicians were willing to administer the life-saving drug.

The first article published in America reporting the favorable effects of quinine on malaria when the patient had fever

seems to have been written by Henry Perrine, M. D., in 1826, six years after the discovery of quinine. While Dr. Perrine advocated the use of quinine when the patient had fever he was not willing to dispense with bloodletting and purging, as his case records show. In spite of Perrine's advocacy of quinine as safe during the febrile stage the majority of the physicians continued to use it only during the fever-free intermission.

We find the author of a book, written in 1842, expressly for the young practitioner stating that he has never given quinine in an imperfect intermission without producing harm and at the same time he advocates bloodletting and purging during the hot stage. It is not surprising that his case records show a number of fatalities, which in the light of our present knowledge we know could have been avoided by the proper use of quinine.

Austin Flint, M. D., writing in 1841, states that there is a general prejudice against quinine and makes a plea for its employment at any stage of the disease without such drastic depletive treatment as was then commonly employed. Slow, indeed, were the physicians to recognize that all that was necessary to cure malaria was the proper use of quinine.

Daniel Drake, M. D., writing in 1830, states the majority of physicians of America relied principally on bleeding, and that he considers many cases incurable without its employment. If such a recognized leader as Drake could not realize that quinine was all that was necessary to effect the cure of malaria, the rank and file of the profession could hardly be expected to have done so.

It is stated that the chief reliance of the southern physicians in the treatment of malaria until about the year 1840 was James Johnson's "Influence of Tropical Climates." (N. Y. 1826.) This book makes no mention of quinine and little of Peruvian bark in the treatment of malaria, but advocates calomel as the most effective remedy. Even as late as 1861 there were a few members of the medical profession who assigned to quinine a secondary place in the treatment of malaria.

The deaths, sickness and economic loss resulting from the tardy and ineffectual introduction of quinine must have been very great. One has only to contrast the histories of the cases treated with the bark or half-hearted and dilatory use of quinine with those properly treated by quinine to realize what an advance the adequate treatment with quinine represents.

It seems strange that a drug with such life-saving qualities should have needed any champion. Undoubtedly a chemical of such great merit would have in time introduced itself and have proved to the satisfaction of all concerned that it was sufficient in itself, as is now universally admitted, to effect the cure of malaria.

The outstanding champion of quinine during the era of territorial expansion and development in the West and South of our country was a physician whose name appears in no medical biographies and who is little known outside of his own state.

Dr. John Sappington was born in Maryland, May 15, 1776. His father, Dr. Mark Brown Sappington, joined the tide of western emigration and moved to Tennessee, settling in Nashville when his son John was a young man. John Sappington's early education was obtained in the schools of Maryland and Tennessee. He studied medicine with his father as preceptor, as was then the custom, and was later associated with him in practice in Nashville. He was also associated with his brother, Dr. Rodger B. Sappington, for a short time in the same town. About 1800 he moved to Franklin, Tennessee, near Nashville, where he practiced alone. In 1814 he rode by horseback from his home in Franklin to Philadelphia, where he attended for one year (1814-1815), a course of medical lectures, and received a diploma from the University of Pennsylvania. There he listened to and observed the violently depletive treatments that the followers of Rush and Cullen taught and practiced in the treatment of fevers. Before that time he states that he was opposed and not in sympathy with the theories of practice then in vogue and "that further contact with them only served to confirm me of their errors." He returned to Tennessee and practiced

at Franklin until 1817, when he moved to Missouri, locating in the then western frontier settlement in Howard county on the Missouri River. After practicing in Howard county for two years, he moved across the river and settled in Saline county, near Arrow Rock, where he established his permanent residence, "Fox Castle."

Dr. Sappington's medical experiences acquired in Tennessee, Philadelphia and Missouri, doubtless had brought him into contact with thousands of cases of malaria. Before the discovery of quinine, he writes that he was accustomed to rely on the use of the Peruvian bark in treating malaria without resorting to such depletive measures as bleeding, vomiting and purging, which the great majority of physicians employed. At just what date Dr. Sappington started to use quinine in his private practice, we are unable to determine from available records. There can be little doubt that he started using it as soon as it became available in this country. Very early after its introduction he learned to rely on it alone to cure malaria, and condemned the practice of the leaders of the profession of drastic purging, vomiting and copious bloodletting in this anemia-producing disease. Sappington seems to have had a clearer conception of the specific nature of quinine in the treatment of malaria than any other physician in the United States. His enthusiasm for the drug is indicated by his statement, "The names of Pelletier and Caventon, who first separated the pure alkaline salt, called quinine, from the bulky and inert mass in which nature had placed it, deserve to be remembered with gratitude by all mankind."

How tardily must have been the true nature of quinine appreciated we may judge when we find a physician, Dr. James C. Finley, writing in a leading medical periodical in 1830 of his personal experiences when stricken by malaria. He states that by his own direction he was violently purged and had a "emetic-cathartic" administered. This line of treatment was continued until the sixth day, when "Dr. Childers, a physician of great observation and experience, who very kindly attended him during the remainder of his illness considered him to be out of danger and prescribed the Sulphate of Quinine." Think of withholding this life-saving drug from



John Sappington



a malaria patient for six days and then only to administer it when he was considered out of danger! It is not surprising that he reports his "system completely prostrated" by the end of the third day. A state of general excitement was erroneously attributed to the action of the quinine (the physician thought that it was a violent stimulant) and it was discontinued before it had time to effect a cure. Soon after the discontinuance of the quinine, he reports that he became comatose and that all hope for his recovery was abandoned. Fortunately he recovered consciousness, "but the mind as well as the body long remained in a state of infantile weakness." Along with his own case, he reports a number of other cases treated along lines similar to his own. He records a number of fatal cases which could have been saved by the proper use of quinine. The editor, a leader of the profession at this time, makes no comment on or suggestions for improvement on the treatment employed.

Dr. Sappington's method of using quinine and his supportive treatment in fevers gained for him a busy and wide practice extending for many miles from his home, with even an occasional visit to a neighboring state. While he was ever free in offering his views and theories to his fellow practitioners, it is not to be wondered that they clung tenaciously to those of their teachers, rather than to accept the ones of a relatively obscure country physician. Realizing the futility of trying to enforce his views on his fellow physicians and the crying need of the people throughout the intensely malarious districts of the west and south for quinine, he decided to retire from private practice and devote his energies to the wholesale introduction of quinine. There can be no doubt that he was influenced to this course by humanitarian rather than selfish motives. In 1832 he began the wholesale manufacture of Dr. John Sappington's Anti-Fever Pills. Each pill contained one grain of quinine, three-fourths of a grain of licorice and one-fourth grain of myrrh, with enough oil of sassafras for flavoring purposes. He advised that one of these pills be given every two hours, "day and night, at any stage of the fever" until the disease was broken and thereafter at greater intervals as long as the anemia and debility con-

tinued, and at the same time stated that he considered the then universal practice of purging, vomiting and bleeding unnecessary and harmful.

It is not surprising that his pills found a ready and growing sale with the public throughout the intensely malarious districts of the west and south, and that he was hard put at times to supply the demand. He had a small house built for the preparation of his pills and taught his slaves to mix and compound them. For their distribution he employed fifteen to twenty-five agents who rode forth on horseback with saddle bags crammed, from established depots at St. Louis, Memphis and other places, and distributed the pills among the storekeepers and general public. The medicine quickly established a reputation and soon enjoyed a wide sale in his own state, and in Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, Republic of Texas, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and other states. Testimonials began to pour in to him from these states, telling him of the great virtue of his medicine and its ability to cure the malarial fevers which resisted the bleeding, purging, vomiting and blistering of their physicians. The physicians were much astonished at the cures effected by his quinine-containing pills. One physician, Dr. W. H. Shelton, casting aside the teachings of Rush and others was led to try his pills, as directed, and marvelled that he was able to cure three hundred cases of fever "without once resorting to the lancet."

The total number of pounds of quinine that Dr. Sappington used in the preparation of his pills is not known. His letters, preserved in The State Historical Society of Missouri, show that he dealt with John Farr, of Philadelphia, the first chemist in this country to manufacture quinine. Farr expresses great surprise at the amount of his orders (one of which is for 500 lbs.) and has difficulty in supplying his demands. Quinine, indeed, was a gift from the gods for the thousands of malaria stricken victims in these states. The verses

"Quinine, Quinine,
Is our cry,
Give us Quinine,
Or we die."

aptly expresses their great need of this sovereign remedy for malaria.

As was to be expected, his great success in the distribution of his pills and his opposition to the orthodox medical views aroused considerable enmity and jealousy among the physicians; however, as he was ever free with his fellow practitioners in the expression of his views on fever and his advocacy of quinine, a few of the more broadminded members of the profession, as Dr. Gregory of St. Louis, accepted him as an ethical and high-grade member of the profession.

At a time when the great majority of the physicians were only giving quinine when the patient was free of fever (in the remittent type of malaria, complete absence of fever never occurs) and to bleed, vomit and purge freely and often, his pills were teaching the people and through them their physicians as perhaps nothing else would, that such depletive measures were unnecessary and harmful, and that all that was necessary to effect a speedy and certain cure of malaria was the employment of his pills, as directed.

So great was the prejudice against quinine and so little was its true merit realized in the treatment of malaria, he states that "I therefore prepared and sent forth to the public, large quantities of my Anti-Fever Pills, and at the same time concealing their composition that they might acquire a reputation upon their own intrinsic worth." However, the physicians or the public did not have to go far to find out that the marvelous virtue of his pills in malaria lay in the quinine they contained, for his warm advocacy of this drug in malaria was widely known by the physicians and public in his vicinity. One cannot think of a surer way than he employed in establishing this drug.

At a time when the sale of his medicine was ever increasing, already having reached the impressive total of well over one million boxes, and he was realizing a considerable income from it, Dr. Sappington decided to write a book giving his views on the treatment of fevers, and at the same time disclosing the constituents of his well known and widely used pills. He met with considerable opposition among members of his family and his friends who felt that a publication of

this nature would result in a diminution of the sales of his medicine. However, we find him in 1843 depositing with the United States District Court of Missouri, the title of a book, "The Theory and Treatment of Fevers," by Dr. John Sappington, of Saline County, Missouri. The book was revised and corrected by his friend and classmate at the University of Pennsylvania, Ferdinand Stith, M. D., of Franklin, Tennessee. Dr. Sappington doubtless felt the need of the literary assistance of his friend, who was in sympathy with his views. His book, a small and neatly leather-bound volume, containing two hundred and sixteen pages, was published in Philadelphia in 1844; the first medical treatise published west of the Mississippi, it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain. The book was sold at a nominal price, "as it was Dr. Sappington's intention to get the book in the hands of the people." Written in an interesting and non-technical language, it shows its author to have a clear insight of disease, and to be far ahead of his time in many respects. The quotations from medical and scientific writers show that he had an excellent knowledge of past and current literature. Its dedication is "To the people of the United States, more particularly that portion of them with whom I have had a personal acquaintance, and from whom I have always received a cordial welcome and generous support; and also to all that portion of the medical profession who can so far divest themselves of the prejudice of education as to give to the following pages an unbiased and impartial perusal, is this work inscribed by its author." The book is divided into sixteen chapters:

Chapter I has the following heading, "The author's reasons why he has departed from the practice of the old school physicians and all others in the treatment and cures of fevers." In this chapter he clearly states his dissatisfaction with the teachings of Rush and Cullen "which was chiefly that of bleeding and acting on the stomach and bowels with emetics and cathartics as long as they thought the patient could stand them," and his reasons for casting them aside. He emphasizes that quinine is a tonic and not a stimulant and "is not injurious when taken in the hot stage of fevers as has been frequently said of it."

Chapter II, "A brief outline of the human economy," sets forth a short description of human physiology in a non-technical language. In this chapter he describes fever as "an effort of the conservative powers of nature, inherent in all animated creatures, to sustain its own integrity, from the deleterious operations of causes, of whatever kind, by which, it may be assailed." He also states that malaria may be imbibed by the skin and thus enter the circulation. He was not so far from the truth as we now know that the malarial organism enters the circulation through the puncturing of the skin by the sting of the anopheles mosquito.

Chapter III is "On the author's views and opinions in relation to the inconsistency and irrationality of attempting to cure fevers principally by depletion." He deals with considerable length on the abuse of bloodletting, cathartics and emetics, and gives the reasons why he considers these measures ill-advised and harmful in the treatment of fevers.

In Chapter IV, "The author's practice and treatment in the cure of fevers," he explains in a non-technical way his methods of treating fevers. This consisted in the use of quinine, one grain every two hours, combined with a common sense supportive regimen. His method is certainly more in conformity with modern therapeutics, than that employed by the majority of physicians of his day. In this chapter he also advises the use of quinine to prevent malaria. He states that he instructed his agents, from the time he started distributing his pills in 1832, to take them to prevent malaria while riding through the intensely malarious districts of the south and west during the "sickly season." He correctly ascribes the escape of his agents from malaria to the use of the drug. For the purpose of preventing malaria, he advised the people to take three or four grains of quinine a day until thirty grains were taken, and to repeat this dosage every two, three or four weeks until the "sickly season" is over. Thus we find him to be one of the first, if not the first, to recognize and practice in a wholesale manner the prophylactic use of quinine in malaria.

Chapter V, on "The unity of fevers," explains the many symptoms that fevers have in common.

In Chapter VI, he discusses "intermittent or ague and fever" (malaria). The symptoms of this disease are described clearly and in an easily understood language. He states his opposition to the practice of bleeding, vomiting and purging in this disease, and emphasizes that all that is necessary to effect a cure is the immediate use of quinine, one grain every two hours, "day and night."

Chapter VII deals with "biliary remittent fever" (remitting malaria). He recognizes that this is a more resistant type of malaria. For treatment, he again advocates one grain of quinine every two hours, "day and night, until a marked amelioration is produced." As in Chapter VI, he recommends, "the immediate use of quinine at any stage of the fever, without any preparatory depletion." Recognizing the tendency of malaria to recur if the quinine is not continued, he advises the continuance of the quinine at greater intervals, "until the strength and complexion are restored." While the patient only received twelve grains of quinine in twenty-four hours by Dr. Sappington's direction, he states that he "seldom failed to relieve his patients within two or three days." His dosage while considerably below that advocated at present by most authors during the early stages of the disease, closely approximates the standard dosage of today for malaria after the first three days. Dr. Sappington was doubtless influenced in his dosage by his desire not to produce any unpleasant symptoms as ringing in the ears or dizziness which result from an overdose of quinine. He felt that such symptoms if caused would add to the prejudice which existed against quinine.

Chapter VIII is on "Cholera Infantum or the puking and purging of children, with some other conditions of the system peculiar to children, attributed to teething and worms." He describes Cholera Infantum (diarrhoea of infants) and gives some common sense directions for its treatment. Speaking of the then as now tendency of the laity to attribute fevers and all the ailments that infants are subject to, to dentition, he states, "the growth of teeth is as natural and as necessary as the growth of bones, muscles or nerves, and we presume is produced by the same or similar processes; if so, why not

contend that these things are the sources of disease. The standard remedies, Spigelia and Oil of Wormseed (Oil of Chenopodium) are advised for the treatment of worms.

Chapter IX is on Yellow Fever. Epidemics of this disease occurred not infrequently in the coastal cities extending as far north even as Boston. The author clearly describes the symptoms and course of this disease. In this chapter he quotes at considerable length from the works of Benjamin Rush, on whom he places the unenviable credit of being the foremost advocate of the depletive system in the treatment of yellow fever. Rush, who "gave large doses of gamboge, calomel, jalap, castor oil, salts, cream of tartar, and rhubarb as he saw fit, and purged his yellow fever patients daily could have had few peers in this line of depletion. His use of the knife was hardly less prodigal than that of cathartics. He bled many of his patients twice and a few three times a day, and saw no inconvenience from the loss of a pint of blood at a time. Mr. George, a carter, of North Street, lost one hundred ounces in five days." Sappington condemns Rush as an extremist and ridicules his theory that the devastating epidemic of Philadelphia in 1793 originated from damaged coffee on Ball's Wharf which had "putrefied there." His opinion of Rush seems to be on a parity with that of the well known Oliver Wendell Holmes, who expressed on Rush's declaration, "Medicine is my wife and Science my mistress," "I do not think that the breach of the Seventh Commandment can be shown to have been of advantage to the legitimate owner of his affections." Rush was a recognized leader and teacher of his time (1745-1813) and when Sappington wrote his book many of his pupils and followers were living. In this chapter the author also quotes Thomas Lawson, surgeon-general, who in Statistical Reports of 1840, advocates calomel in 20-25 grain doses, combined with liberal blood-letting, as the best treatment for yellow fever. Lawson states that the use of powerful tonics, such as sulphate of quinine are "absolutely inadmissible." Sappington states his opposition to the treatment and position on quinine of Surgeon-General Lawson, showing that the courage of his convictions was sufficient for him to take issue with the

leading authorities of his day. As in other fevers, he recommends a tonic and supportive treatment and the use of quinine in small doses. Certainly, patients under this plan of treatment must have fared much better than those who were purged and bled to the point of collapse.

Chapter X, "Of Influenza," is on this disease, which then as now occasionally swept across the country in epidemic form. Modern medicine had little to add to the common sense supportive regimen which he recommends in the treatment of influenza.

Chapters XI and XII are on mild and malignant Typhus. This disease, which we now know is transmitted by lice, prevailed extensively at times in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century. Sappington states that it first occurred in New England in 1806 and "about the year 1810 or 1812, became so general in the northern and eastern portion of the United States as to be recognized as an epidemic; from thence, it gradually spread south and west until in the course of a few years it had traversed the whole Union leaving traces of its destructive powers wherever it went." The author deprecates the use of the depletive practice in this disease, and recommends his supportive treatment combined with small doses of quinine.

Chapters XIII and XIV deal with Scarlet Fever and Measles. In the care of these diseases he advocates his accustomed line of treatment.

Chapter XV which is the final one on fevers is devoted to Puerperal or Childbed fever. He recognizes that this disease may be due to contagion showing that he was probably cognizant of and more or less in sympathy with the views of Oliver Wendell Holmes. He condemns violent cathartics, emetics, and blood-letting in this disease, and advises his usual method of treatment.

In Chapter XVI, he enumerates and gives indications for their usage, with dosage, the drugs which he considers the most valuable. In an orderly way the commoner and more useful drugs are described and their uses and dosage given. As we would expect he devotes a great deal more space in this chapter to quinine than any other drug. He

emphasizes that it is safe and proper to give quinine when the patient has fever and that it is the best "febrifuge known." The method for the preparation of his pills is given in detail and a formula for a solution of quinine containing one grain to the teaspoonful, which is advocated as the most convenient form to administer it to children. He advises "each family to procure the quinine at the stores or apothecaries as they do their sugar, coffee or tea, and to prepare it themselves as recommended in this treatise." The chapter is concluded with a table of weights and measures.

In an appendix he describes an interesting case of stone in the bladder occurring in his practice, and devotes a few pages to Asiatic Cholera. Epidemics of this disease swept across the country in 1832, 1833 and 1835, spreading death and consternation. Dr. Sappington and his associate, Dr. George Penn, treated about eighty cases in the vicinity of Arrow Rock during the epidemics of 1833 and 1835. He condemns as irrational, bleeding, vomiting and purging in this violently depletive disease, and is astounded at the liberal use many physicians make of calomel, one of whom uses one-half pound of "this insidious poison" in twenty-four hours, doses of 160 grains being common among his western fellow physicians. For the treatment of this disease he recommends "large and repeated doses of laudanum and large and repeated draughts of strong hot toddy." He advises that the patient remain in bed and take a liquid though nourishing diet. The low mortality occurring under his plan of treatment is contrasted with that which occurred under the "common plan of puking, purging and bleeding as employed in other parts of the state, where from the best knowledge I could obtain, at least three-fourths, if not more of the cases proved fatal."

Throughout his work the author reiterates his opposition to the fallacious practice then in vogue of treating fevers and other diseases by violently depletive methods. Another misconception which Sappington did his utmost to overthrow was the erroneous and commonly held opinion that quinine was not to be given when the patient had fever, but was only to be administered with safety during the febrile stage. The fallaciousness of withholding quinine

until the patient is fever-free, is realized when we know there is one type of malaria, the remittent, in which fever is never absent. While his advocacy of quinine in fevers other than malarial has not stood the test of time, it is to be remembered that there was an added indication for the employment of the drug in all fevers, during his day, due to the fact that a great many individuals suffering from other febrile conditions had malaria in a chronic form. His supportive regimen combined with small doses of quinine certainly offered an infinite improvement over the violently depletive treatment generally practiced in all fevers. At no time does he attempt to exploit or advertise his pills in his book, but emphasizes that their sole virtue is due to the quinine that they contain.

In a final paragraph in Chapter XV, we have in brief his reasons for publication of his work, "The Theoretical Doctrines and the practice in the treatment of fevers as pointed out in the foregoing chapters, the author conceives to be so simple, so plain, and so efficient that he entertains no doubt but that any common observer, with strict attention, cannot fail to treat all fevers with more success upon his plan, than the scientific physician could under the present prejudices in favor of the common or orthodox system of schools." When we compare the drastic purging and blood-letting then in use by the majority of physicians, we agree wholeheartedly with his statement. How much sooner we would be willing to put ourselves in Dr. Sappington's hands, than those of many of the leading physicians of his day. True, he was not the only physician of his time to see the error of the theories of practice then in vogue. However, he was the only one in the United States who had the courage of his convictions sufficiently to publish a book expressly against the orthodox views and to take to task in unequivocal terms the medical leaders of his day.

His book never received the widespread distribution and popularity of his pills. Simple and clear as its language was, it was far beyond the great majority of the public of his day, many of whom were either illiterate or possessed the bare rudiments of an education. Sixteen thousand copies were

published, with the intention of distributing nine thousand in his own state, and seven thousand east of Missouri. They were distributed by his agents along with his pills and placed in the bookshops in the larger towns and cities. Characteristically he presented copies to the heads of the chairs of medicine in the Philadelphia Medical Colleges, and in the other cities, before he began the general distribution of his book. In all probability they looked askance on such a work, conflicting so greatly as it did with the orthodox views. Many of the more educated people obtained and used his book, but if we may judge from the account sheet of one of his agents, they were often a drug on the market and in some instances went begging at the ridiculous price of 25 cents a copy. Not only the public but many of the leading physicians of his day (as well as their patients) would have profited if they had purchased his work and applied the treatment which he advocated in fevers. The fact that the physicians of his time did not recognize him in print detracts little from his great service in hastening the introduction of quinine, and in aiding in overthrowing the fallacious theories then in vogue. They would naturally be slow to recognize publicly or in print a teacher who drove home his lesson through the use of a proprietary medicine.

Daniel Drake, M. D., writing in 1850, tenaciously insists that such measures as bloodletting, vomiting and purging are often necessary in malaria, but admits that many leading physicians such as those at the head of the Charity Hospital, at New Orleans, have come to the conclusion during the past few years that such measures are unnecessary and harmful, and all that is needed to cure malaria is the proper use of quinine. Beyond a doubt, Sappington's wholesale distribution since 1832 of his quinine containing pills, had been instrumental in proving to the public and to all open-minded physicians, as those at New Orleans, that all that was necessary to effect the cure of malaria was quinine. Drake reports a personal tour up the Missouri river, in which he interviewed Dr. W. Price, of Arrow Rock, Dr. Sappington's son-in-law. He does not have the magnanimity to even mention Sappington, who was his classmate at the University of Pennsylvania.

His reluctance to give honor to whom honor was due is probably ascribable to professional enmity and jealousy and a growing realization (which it irked him to admit) that Sappington had been far ahead of his time in his position on quinine and in his supportive treatment of fevers.

Drake is well known (and rightly so) for his many activities along medical lines, but the service he rendered is insignificant when compared with that which Sappington performed. If through the combined efforts of his pills and his book Sappington was able to hasten by one year into proper recognition, quinine, and establish that it was all that was needed to cure malaria, he saved thousands of lives. Beyond a doubt through the agency of his pills and books, he did much to overcome in the United States the erroneous prejudice against quinine, and aided in loosening the grapple hold which though weakening was still too firm which the "Anti-Phlogistic" regime had on the chair of Hippocrates.

There are many examples of Dr. Sappington's humanitarian and generous nature. When the caravans were pushing westward on the Santa Fe trail near his home, and there existed a great shortage of corn, he refused to enter into the price-raising prevalent, but ordered the corn from his farms sold at thirty-five cents a bushel, which he considered a "fair price." Realizing the crying need for educational relief, he willed over \$20,000 (which was over half his personal property) to aid the indigent children of Saline county in obtaining an education.

Among his friends and admirers he numbered Andrew Jackson, Thomas Hart Benton, Judge Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, his neighbor Brigadier General Thomas Adam Smith, and other prominent men of his time.

Dr. Sappington died September 7, 1856, in the 81st year of his age. By his own direction his body was placed in a lead casket which was deposited in a vault in the Sappington family cemetery, near his home, "Fox Castle." On one side of the vault, engraved at his own request, is the inscription, "A truly honest man is the noblest work of God."

The cemetery seldom frequented and inaccessible in which he lies, is slowly but surely being enveloped by the growth out of which it was cleared one hundred years ago.

If the living descendants of the people he saved could realize that they owe their very lives to him, his grave would be a much frequented and honored shrine.

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CALIFORNIA LETTER OF JOHN WILSON, 1850

EDITED BY FREDERIC A. CULMER

John Wilson was a Missouri lawyer of large practice and more than ordinary ability. He had a versatile mind and made use of it. From July 5, 1827, to July 25, 1828, he was editor of the *Missouri Intelligencer*, then published at Fayette, Missouri. In politics he was anti-Jackson and an uncompromising Whig.

The Leonard correspondence, in which the letter was discovered, contains an amusing account, written by Joe Davis of Fayette, Missouri, to B. H. Reeves, of the manner in which Wilson behaved, when, in 1827, at a Fourth of July picnic at Fayette, where politics was barred by agreement, and everything was going with a hurrah "similar to that at the assassination of Julius Caesar," a schoolboy delivered an oration at the request of some of his Chariton county friends, who declared there was nothing disagreeable in it at all. It turned out to be full of "abuse of Adams" and "laud of Jackson." Wilson got up after the oration and "spoke bitterly." John B. Clark and others followed in the capacity of mediators, but "Wilson stood surly as a bore" and "wielding a three-foot cane around his head." All finally became pacified, however, and the commemoration proceeded.

Wilson was a great dealer in Spanish and New Madrid land claims. At one time he purchased, as he wrote to Abiel Leonard, at Fayette, a half interest, from the heirs, of a claim involving some fifteen millions of acres of land. He says the heirs wanted to sell him the other half. The reader doesn't doubt it.

Wilson was an inveterate political enemy of Thomas Hart Benton; wherever Benton spoke in Missouri, Wilson was almost sure to follow with a scathing address. In fact, their political animosities did not stop short of mutual, extreme personal dislike. When, in 1849, Wilson had decided to go to California, and, from this letter, had obtained a gov-

ernment position there, he called on Webster in Washington and asked him for a letter of reference to someone in the far western country. Webster replied that he knew no one out there, but that Mr. Benton owned "about half California" and doubtless could give him such a letter. Webster wrote a note to Benton, which Wilson for a long time refused to accept. Webster finally prevailed on him and he made an appointment with Benton. To his amazement Benton seized him with both hands and suggested that then and there they wipe all old scores off the slate. Wilson says they both cried together.

Wilson lived in California until his death at the advanced age of eighty-seven years. I am informed by Mrs. C. C. Hemenway of Glasgow, Missouri, the daughter of Thomas S. Shackleford, that Wilson married her father's aunt. The information determines the identity of the "Thomas" to whom Wilson wrote.

How it came to be in the files of Abiel Leonard of Fayette, is explained by the letter itself. I am indebted to Mr. N. W. Leonard, of Fayette, the son of Abiel Leonard, who put me in possession of his father's files for historical research, for permission to edit and publish the material. The letter is published exactly as it is written—in all probability with a quill pen.—Frederic A. Culmer.

JOHN WILSON'S LETTER
(NO. C. 45, IN LEONARD CORRESPONDENCE)

San Francisco, 12th April. 1850.

Dear Thomas,*

This morning while lazy people are getting up, I embrace a little leisure, which I now rarely ever have, to write you a few lines; although it is probable it will be eighteen days before the mail will leave for the states. We are all in perfect health & have indeed been so ever since we last saw you with a small exception while on the platt. At last we have weather more glorious than it is possible for you to conceive of. Itally

*Thomas S. Shackleford of Glasgow, Missouri, a successful lawyer. He was a Whig, as Wilson was. He died March 10, 1908. His "Reminiscences" are published in A. D. J. Stewart's "History of Bench and Bar in Missouri."

nor any other place cannot afford finer; but we must admit it has lately began; how long it will continue I cannot pretend to guess. It is said from Feby to June *inclusive* is our fine spring, that July & August & part of Sept. is cold disagreeable after 1 o'clock made so by strong northwest winds from the sea (not felt in the interior of the country), that Oct. & November are fine & then Dec. & Jany the wet winter months —this what the "oldest inhabitants" say. This year all pronounce as unexampled, be that as it may I can give proof that on the 30th day of Oct at night it commenced snowing and raining on us in the mountains. It snowed & rained alternately for 14 days & nights on us, before we reached the Sacramento valley at old Peter Lassens, during which I feel sure 20 feet of snow fell on us. It never got over 3 feet at a time as the rains washed it away—since that time up to the 20th of March or even later it has almost been one continued shower, not only raining but pouring, such mud, slush, & unpleasantness as we have had could not be exceeded & rarely if ever anywhere else equalled—during all the time we did not use fire in our sitting room, it was warm & pleasant with the exception of a dampness, that would make fire useful, & when we get fixed we of course will have & we now have in our little parlour (about the size of your back room) a petit stove which we now have no use for, but it will be useful when these plaguey N. W. winds commence blowing in July. The grass, vegetables flowers etc. have been growing & blooming from the 14th of Nov. when we got in the Valley & will continue so all the year. Your aunt is as yet dissatisfied with the country. But you who know her disposition will be able to tell most of the causes from the following facts. In the first place you know how comfortably we had fixed ourselves all of which we lost, came in on foot with not a second suit upon our backs—by the time we got here our last dollar nearly was spent. Having been forced, on the way, to dismiss our military commander, & take into our family, so far as feeding them was concerned, 14 men to guard us through the only part of the rout that there was danger or difficulty. By the time I got them in we were out of food out of money & I had to some extent to go in debt to get us here

& them fed. When we got here we found there was no place we could get even board but at a *Gambling Hell* for all eating places nearly were Gambling Hells—that there we could not get along at less than about 800\$ per month; and to make the matter worse I found my office here in such a loco-foco state that I felt bound to resolve not to do anything till I could get instructions from Washington; those I could not get till the last of this month, thus the hope of salary etc. were for the present knocked off in that quarter.* Then in addition to all this was to be added poor comforts, our clothes all mud and washing 8\$ per dozen. Mud two feet deep everywhere in the streets and if there had been any ladies here your aunt & the girls could not *possibly* go out of their rooms to see them. Nor could they come to see us unless we hired a covered dray at the rate of 5\$ for the first two squares & 10\$ afterwards. There was one perpetual shower and the first rooms we got leaked & wet our beds of a night. We had to sit up, & then if we went to bed it was full of fleas, for this is a country of fleas,—we don't mind them now. Taking all these things together you can easily see how much your aunt would suffer, & M. E. & Micajah was also pretty much the same way. Susan was perfectly contented and so was Bob. About the last of Jany I went into the practise of law taking into partnership a mild good hearted fellow & a tolerable good lawyer from Alton Illinoise by the name of Murray, who had come out in Sept. last, round, as I believe, the Horne, & who had had some practice.

The first month we hired a room for an office at 200\$ per month, the last two at 350\$ pr. month, advanced payts. The last month is about half gone & in that time my partner who is a Democrat, has been elected a member of the common council of this city, & yesterday he was sworn in as one of judges of new state courts—the superior court—salary I believe (for I have not seen the bill) of 8000\$ per an. So I am again in a state of legal or single blessedness. In the

*I have not been able to determine the nature of his governmental work. Evidently it was not of major importance, since he gave so much attention to other things. Had his office demanded his time, there would have been no refusal. His other letters show Wilson to have been extremely conscientious.

2½ months we have probably made from 4 to 6000\$ without ever advertising ourselves at all. Our business was increasing—indeed there is no fear of lawyers here—no odds what it costs to live. So that I have already cleared more than will pay my way & pay up what I was behind.

I am offered choice of partners here—I have held off to choose and do not know whom I shall choose but must soon do so as it is quite impossible here to get along without partners—we shall have a half-dozen courts *always in session* & even three partners are better than two. Were you here I would propose to take you and Micajah in giving you & him half & you 2-3rds of that half,—even with that I feel we could easily make 20000\$ in this year. But Micajah is too young to take in alone & therefore he is going with Wm. H.* to the mines. They are going to take out quite a lot of Indians to work for them. They started a few days ago—chances are they may do well. Wm. has been living up at the head of Sacramento Valley all winter & has got considerable control over the Indians. If they have the least good luck they will do well.

I felt considerably sorry to see Cage go off to this for it is very hard work & he is not hardy like Wm. but Cage was extremely anxious to go—Wm. is just fitted for the mines, as to everything but saving and taking care of things. I do not know how they will come out. I hope well. No one who takes care & uses industry can hardly help making 10\$ pr. day on every hand they take out. They can take out 10 or 15 Indians & they will not have to pay them much, so if luck attends them as I hope it will they will do well.

Micajah was in the Post Office here all winter. He has obtained license in the Supreme court here. Wm. remained at our ranch. On arriving at Lassen's last fall I found old Uncle Peter Lassen with one of the best & finest ranches in California containing about 18000 acres of as fine land as ever laid out of doors, 800 head of cattle, 260 of them American

*These two were his sons. William Henry contracted dysentery in the mines and died in the fall of 1851. (John Wilson to Abel Leonard, April 11, 1852.) M. E. (Mary E.) and Susan mentioned above were his daughters. "Bob" may have been his brother Robert.

oxen, 250 fine fat horses & mules, 200 sheep, about 4 to 600 head of hogs, 12 waggons, a mill etc. & many other affairs. He put at me to buy an interest—finally myself and a Mr. Palmer of Oregon bought 2-3rds of the whole—we were to pay him 15000\$ each *in five years* from the first day of last January & nothing before nor any interest. Palmer was to go there in person to attend to it as soon as he could go to Oregon & bring his family. He was to be back in Feby. but has failed to come. I do not know for what for I have not heard from him since. He was offered 2000\$ cash advance for half his interest before he left. Wm. has been there all winter attending to it—I believe we have got a good man now to take his place & if so we expect to make most of our money this year. It lies right where the Oregon road comes in and also where the northern road from the states comes in to the Sacramento Valley. The road comes right in on our land & there is no other ranch nearer than 4 or 5 miles. Last year 20000\$ worth of potatoes turnips & cabbage & pumpkins could have been sold there, besides shoes boots, clothes, beef to more than 3 times that much if they had been there to be sold.*

We sold 2 or 3 beeves daily for 34 cents per pound. We bought 260 head of oxen from emigrants that were poor & most given out for from 15 to 20\$ each, they are now fat & fine & are worth from 300 to 400\$ per yoke.† We have laid off a town & it is now I am told the county seat—on our land it lies right on the Sacramento river at or near the head of stream navigation, water at its lowest stage as good as the Ohio at Pittsburg. We have the finest stream to irrigate our farm & we can easily raise 50 bushels, most people say 75 per acre on it. We have sowed considerable & expect to sow yet—for we can sow any time, where we can irrigate as we can & do all nearly of our whole ranch.

*Wilson was enthusiastic about the land in California. Comparing it in another letter (April 11, 1852, to Abiel Leonard, of Fayette,) to good Missouri land, he says it reminds him of the school boy's definition of a jackass, "like a mule only more so." On the other hand his wife wrote back to Missouri that "the country is not agricultural." (Feb. 28, 1850, to Mrs. Abiel Leonard.)

†This was a common practice. Professor F. L. Paxson says that the California emigrants even furnished the Mormons of the West about the only first sustenance they had for some time. (*History of Amer. Frontier*, p. 376.)

I have been strongly tempted to quit all else & go there and attend to it in person, for if well attended to it is a splendid fortune, but you know I am not a very good hand for such matters. Therefore I let Mr. Palmer go in with me for I thought he was an excellent hand & so I believe he is but what has happened to him I do not know, but I have sent up a person that I think will do equally well to take Mr. P's. place. If I can get it well managed for the five years before a dollar is to be paid I have no doubt it would be fortune ample for my family. I have regretted Ben Watts* was not here to undertake it with me. A more lovely place I have never seen. Land richer does not lie out of doors. Mountains on each hand—the Sierra Nevada on the east—the coast range on the west—both tops capped with perpetual snow in full view—on the east 12 miles off—on the west 30—the beautiful Sacramento our western boundary.—There is here perpetual spring—grass grain oats (wild), vegetables & flowers—in perpetual growth, the best in winter, except where we irrigate & there always in the highest luxuriance.

It is about or near 300 miles from here nearly north, we already have a steamboat running up there. Although your aunt & cozens were the first white female navigators of this river in Decm. last! You will see in this there is a splendid fortune if well managed. But whether I shall be able to get that done or whether I could do it myself is more doubtful—I intend to try my best. There is but one reason why I do not go there in person—I am still afraid it is not very healthy. The Sacramento Valley lies exactly facing the 2 o'clock sun—it is a narrow valley hedged in by high mountains, & gets exceedingly hot in the summer for from this —?— we shall not see a drop of rain till in November, & I fear sickness will prevail in the latter part of the year. While *here* there is no question it is *entirely* healthy, & then by my law & my office as soon as I get a going in that I know I can make a large sum of money. So I have told you about all I have been doing except I have entered into a partnership here in a

*A successful farmer of Fayette, Mo. His son Hamp Watts, who lived in the old Watts mansion just south of Fayette, died a few years ago. Shortly after his death the home burned.

vegetable garden with a nephew of old Honest John Davis—near this city which we think will do well. My partner has just returned from a trip. He went to get us supplies at the Sandwich Islands. He has brought us a considerable load of things & 7 Sandwich Islanders to work at 25\$ per month, each, for 18 months. To hire hands here costs us over 100\$ pr. month each.

We are also establishing a *wash yard* as we have a fine lake of fresh water, & intend doing a large amt. of washing for the City people. Our calculation is to clear 500\$ pr. month. So you see what curious things turn up in this *great country*. Don't let your aunt know that I have written you this—for we are raising chickens too!!!—for she thinks this is to terrible to be thus engaged in & has positively forbid me writing about this at all & caused me to rub it out of my letter to my brother, Wm. sometime ago. Now I do not know how these matters will turn out, if well & anywhere near what we and everybody else expects from them I have made as much as we shall need or I care about. If not I may be made hopelessly insolvent. Without a risk nothing is made in this country *in haste*. But to the sober second thought working or (monied) man, who has ten years to live, *cannot fail* to make a *splendid fortune*. That is unquestionable you may rest asured of that—work or money—any kind of work physical or intellectual—pays enormously—surely & nothing can hinder it to pay, but cardplaying & drinking and *these do* hinder hundreds. You can have no conception of the *extent* of these evils. Remember the worst places of the kind you ever saw, & then suppose that it can be 10 times worse somewhere else, & then you will not be nearer to the *reality here* than 1-100rdth part. *It is horrible in the extreme*. Many men go to the mines & after being gone 2, 3, or 4 months come back here on their way home with from 3 to 5 or 6000\$ of the real dust. While they are waiting for the steamer they get idle saunter around & go into these hells for nearly every public house is so (except the one we are at) and venture a little & a little, till all is gone & have either to go back again to the mines or cut their throats., take laudnum or do some other foul deed. Others turn into drinking &

get "the man with the poker" and put an end to his existence. Only night before last a genteel looking man did this in the St. Francis hotel where we are, only a few rooms from ours—DIED a horrible death, whose groans and cries were as shrill in our rooms—as in his. For all our partition walls in this country are cotton cloth hung up instead of lath & mortar, & then wall paper pasted on it. So all through the house we hear all that is said & can lie in our beds and talk to each other even at the distance of 4 or 5 rooms in ordinary tones of voice. Your aunt's sympathy was strongly excited. She caused a lock of his hair to be cut off & is going to send it as a last memento of an unworthy son to a distressed mother in New York.

Many such cases occur here and for these reasons. The rage for this country has been so great & has been worst by the young & inexperienced, and the hopes & expectation have been so unjustly, nay, criminally raised by a few speculators who were here first & whose frauds & rascalities have been enormous and for interested motives false, inflated, & wicked statements have been made purposely to gull the people, to bring crowds here of whom they intended to & have speculated upon. These people who came here & especially the inexperienced or with hopes beyond all *realities* in life & all the accts. have been made to lead to the idea that men need bring *no money* with them. Whereas there is no place under the sun where we *cannot* get along, when we first get there, without money, or else go to the lowest employments or actually starve,—& these inexperienced men have not the nerve to stand it. Men have actually starved to death in this city *since I have been here*. Only the last steamer a gentleman of wealth & standing in the states (it is said) came to our hotel & put up by accident & behold at the first meal, what should he see but two of sons who came last fall standing at my back waiting on your aunt, myself, as servots in a hotel!!!! What a painful sensation to the father, & yet praseworthy to the boys, who finding themselves out of money & could not get to the mines & therefore had hired themselves as common waiters in a hotel, intending as soon as they raised funds enough to be off to the "diggins." There now stands

at our back a young man say 30 years of age educated at West Point to be a complete civil engineer who is now waiting as a common waiter at our end of the table. No doubt in a short time his pile will be big enough to get to the mines & of course he will be off there also. But still it takes considerable nerve to do this. Hundreds fail, & kill themselves or become vagabonds.

Almost everything costs much money. Our steamboat fare from here to Sacramento City 160 miles up the finest river in America to which place large ships go is 30\$ passage, 250\$ for a berth to sleep in & \$1.50 for each meal you eat. To our seat of govt. 40 miles San Jose, 30\$, the lowest dray price for handling a trunk from the wharf to a hotel 5\$. While the rainy season continues land travel ceases. One chicken costs 4\$. Eggs 6\$ pr. doz. Potatoes by the quantity 12½ cents pr. pound. We have just sold a shipment for that. That my partner brot. from the Sandwich Islands. My fees—the lowest for drawing a deed we have ever charged is 35\$, and the cash paid down. The highest was 100\$. The lowest fee for the smallest suit is 50\$, the highest that we have yet recd. since we began is 2500\$. Generally we charge 100\$, to 400\$ for such as we in the states would charge 15 to 40\$ for & plenty of suits at that. I believe I brought 5 or 6 yesterday. There is no court today & people are not so much about. I have only two or three applications now, ½ past 12 A. M. There are several firms doing more business than we are who have been longer here. How long this state of things will continue I do not know. Of course fees will come down & no doubt greatly. But business must greatly increase as it is now beyond *all controversy* that the gold here is entirely inexhaustible no odds if millions of diggers should (and they will) come. It is spread broadcast over the whole Sierra Nevada & coast ranges of mountains in such quantities that every man who will work can with his shovel and tin pan make beyond dispute 10\$ pr. day clear the year round & the quantity of diggers can & will make no sort of difference. this 50 years. It cannot do it. Then here is the carcass that the whole world, ever since the days of Noah have been in search of & the same thing too, that all men on

earth Jew, & Gentile, Mohammedan or Christian will seek & will have if within his reach—here it is within his grasp only let him push forth his hand & clutch vigorously—his it will be if within his reach—his it must be. Then I ask you is it not reasonable to believe that the people have *only began to come here yet?*

Even now by ship—while the plains are shut up they come at nearly the rate of 1000 pr. day, often 2 or 3000 people in 24 hours!! You know your aunt always like your grandfather estimates things in the lowest ratio. She will tell you that the houses in this city have *more than doubled* since we came here, the 9 of Decm. last!! I say and so does most other people it will far more than double itself to what it is now before another year rolls around. Of this there is not the smallest doubt. But your aunt thinks the fools are nearly all here now & that no more will come. Still I have no doubt that you in the states will be satisfied that there are a "few more of the same sort left" by the preparations that are making and must and will make. I am satisfied that you (and many of our friends who may see this letter, and I design it for all our family, and I want you to show it to Weston Birch and Mr. Leonard* as I really have not time to write you all) will hardly believe the statements altho I do not believe any one of you would think I would lie right out, still I know you have all thought me too sanguine a temperament etc., but I shall risk the allegations, the proof is point patit "per record" whenever you come here, and I presume you will all be here & therefore I do not fear the issue as to my veracity. I know one thing, that there are none amongst you who have not always been & still are equally fond of making & possessing money, if not a little more so, than I am & I know it will not be long before you are on the road in search of this real eldorado.

Come when you will you will be disappointed in two ways—I shall not be able to warn you sufficiently as to the

*Weston F. Birch, editor of the *Western Monitor* at Fayette, from 1827 for about ten years. "Mr. Leonard" was Abiel Leonard of Fayette, later a Judge of the Supreme Court. He and Wilson were cronies. Leonard's files contain a copy of a letter written by him to President Taylor recommending Wilson for office.

annoyances and inconveniences you are to meet with nor with the extent of the successes that will unquestionably await your taking them if you do come—using the same economy, industry & sobriety you & they have been accustomed to use. This is not only a great country but it is unexampled in evrything. There is no parallel to liken it to and therefore it is no use for me to attempt to describe what it is because I could not do it. Looking out of my door I see that the boys fly their kites to double the height they do in the states, every hotel barroom and gambling shop (& all nearly are the latter) hoists the "Stars and Stripes" and has an orchestra and band of music constantly discoursing sweet sounds enticing the weary and unwary into their horrible dens, the very "recruiting houses" of hell. And when you go in there sits behind piles of gold bags on the table, dealing with their fingers weighed down with rings of *ounces* in weight, the fair form of a woman, the prototype of your mother or wife. With farrow, monte, & red cloth games, where the hard earnings of many an honest hardworking man—thousands of miles from "wife, children and friends" are rapidly & surely passing into the gulf that here yawns for the inevitable destruction of thousands. To show you the profit of these abominable places, I have been engaged for three weeks as attorney before the court & commissioners in chancery in settling the accts. of 13 months gambling here between two partners, who had only 2500\$ to begin with in July 1849, the 16th day. The whole profit is near 150000\$ my share of it—so you see I have a share too—is 2500\$—that is *my* fee. There are four more fees equally as large as mine to be paid also to our fraternity—great times isn't it? 12500\$ to lawyers in one case and cash up too. On the other hand things are extraordinary. When we came here in Decm. a certain senior partner of the largest and as was said the richest firm (merchantile & banking) here, gave notice that he intended retiring from business & madame rumor—who has a thousand tongues here to one in the states—said he was a millionaire.

Well, a few nights ago in a splendid little pallace gloriously furnished where he has lived & was living at the expense of 30000\$ pr. year for his own dear self—waked up

and shot himself with one of "Colts Best"—through the head—he is getting well—but the effects being handed over to assignees, it is said will not pay even the deposit gold dust that has been left there by the hardworking diggers to await the sailing of the steamer, then to send it home to their wives & children while they had returned to the diggins to get more—even these deposits were recd. up to the moment or the *night* at least of the shooting, knowing that they never would be returned.

But another fact—the nominee of the Democratic party for our sheriff was what his friends boasted of as the "Prince of Gamblers"—a sort of aristocratic gambler—well he is said to have spent actually 30000\$ in the canvass!! and was beat nearly two to his one. The Whigs voted for the gallant Texas Ranger Col. Jack Harp—the latter is a sober, modest, honest military hero—only been here a few days or weeks, & this is high evidence in favor of our people—honest sober military glory triumphed over whiskey bribery and cards—our society here notwithstanding all the facts I have above stated, & being true, are the most intelligent, & I believe under the circumstances fully as moral as any society in the U. S. I speak of the "bone and sinew" of our population. Had we our wives and families here I imagine no society in the world would average with us in point of intelligence—in point of action, energy & aheditiveness—none certainly possessing even a tithe of what we actually put in operation. I have known a large hotel (to hold 2 or 300 people) contracted for, built, finished, & occupied as a Hotel in 13 days!!! I have seen $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of a densely built square burned down with all their contents & in less than two weeks nearly every place was covered with a new building & all to every seeming appearance every man was at his business *at his old place*, & the burnt district had wholly disappeared.

By looking out of my door I can & do see I am sure over 1000 masts of ships and other craft peering up high above the heads of the thousands below on the wharf running here and there engaged in the maize of commerce and speculation. A city around me not two years old whose houses have doubled under my own eye, containing it is said 30000 people—&

besides the houses thousands of tents—like one great army—scattered in every direction—many having signs over them “Hot Rolls & Coffee,” “Shoes and Boots Mended.”, “Board and Lodging.”, “Boots Greased for One Quarter Dollar.” “Hair Cut One Dollar.” Now in sober earnestness these statements are true and far more untold yet remains. I have huddled them together in haste to give you some idea of what this country is—you will be deceived both ways when you come if you come at all—it is better and worse than you will or can expect to find it. Tell what I may—and what you must remember things that are today—are very different tomorrow—a month is almost an age here—so far as changes in things are concerned. So rapid are the transitions and mutations of society that even in a few days things are so altered you almost cease to remember how they looked or were. We bring a suit & often end it in a day, generally in two weeks it is one of the things that were—all closed and forgot. Our court of first instance—Judge Wm. B. Almond*—don’t you remember him?—he ran for Lt.-Governor a few years ago in Mo.—has decided 4000 cases since October last & pocketed over (as they say) 40000\$!!—good salary that ain’t it? I have no doubt he has neared that sum in fees—fees in each case about 15\$ to him—some of course he did not collect, but they say of him he always cast the costs on the party able to pay. *This I do not fully believe.*

Yours John Wilson.

Should you come, come by the plains to see the country—get you 4 or 5 mules—pack all you want to eat—*no more*, & come off with say a dozen of good fellows—say 15, (no company about it) bring nothing but your eatibles & clothes you want to wear & all the money or rather authority to draw on a bank in New York for it. You can come in about 65 or 70 days at most—your mules will sell for far more money than your outfit will cost, & then you will not be sick when you get here. *Hire one man to come with you, 5 or 6 mules & only pack a little on each.*

*He ran in 1844 and was beaten by James Young. The vote was, Young 36,307, Almond 29,680. The Whigs this year let the state elections go by default and the contest was principally between the “Hard” and “Soft” Democrats.

A STUDY OF EARLY DAYS IN RANDOLPH COUNTY, 1818-1860

BY WALTER H. RYLE

PRIMEVAL CONDITION

History does not record the name or date of the first white man who traversed the region now known as Randolph county; however we do know much concerning the primeval conditions he found there.

The face of the county is generally level or undulating. About one-fourth of it was prairie, covered with blue-stem prairie grass, most of which extended along the grand divide, entering the southeast corner and soon turning north, a direction it maintains throughout the remainder of the county. This prairie was from one to two miles wide and was known by the early settlers as Grand Prairie. There were two other small prairie regions in Randolph. One varying from one-half to two miles wide was located in the southern part of the county. It emerged from the wooded region one mile east of Yates and extended three miles west along the Howard county border. The early pioneers called this region Foster's Prairie. The other prairie was located along the divide of Middle Fork and East Fork, being about half a mile to one mile in width and about fourteen miles long. It was called Dark's Prairie. The remaining three-fourths of the county was covered with underbrush of various kinds, much of which was very dense, especially along the creeks and larger streams.

The drainage system is divided into three groups. The streams on the eastern slope of the Grand Prairie Divide are gentle and small. These streams are a part of the headwaters of the Salt river that flows eastward to the Mississippi. Among the streams of the eastern section are Flat Creek, Elk Fork, and Mud Creek, all of whose banks were fringed with timber and underbrush when white men first came to this region more than a century ago. To the west of this divide flow the Sugar Creek, Sweet Spring, Silver Creek, and Locust Creek, and other streams. This group of streams

drains the central and most of the southern part of the county. They flow into East Fork. In the northwest part are found Muncas Creek, Dark Creek, and Middle Fork, all of which empty into East Fork, the largest stream in the county. East Fork enters the county near the mid-point of the northern boundary and flows to the south and west, entering Chariton county where it empties into the Chariton river. East Fork and its tributaries drain about three-fourths of the county, and it was along these streams that the first permanent homes were erected. The third group of streams is found in the southeastern part of the county. The divide that separates these streams from the other two groups runs along the Chicago and Alton railroad. The Moniteau and Perche with their tributaries are the two streams that drain this portion of Randolph. They flow southward to the Missouri. The streams of Randolph played an important role in pioneer days, for it was upon their banks that the hardy frontiersman erected his log cabin and carved a new home for his family in the wilderness.

The greater portions of the region west of the Grand Prairie was covered with timber, much of which had dense undergrowth, especially along the streams flowing into East Fork. The timber was principally elm, walnut, hackberry, sycamore, cottonwood, ash, white maple, honey-locust, coffee-bean, persimmon, sugar maple, shellbark hickory, birch, cherry, linden, and red, white, black, burr and water oak. Many of these varieties grew to magnificent proportions, particularly the sycamore, white oak, cottonwood, and elm. As late as 1832, a sycamore seven feet in diameter stood on the banks of Silver Creek near the place where the state highway No. 20 crosses the stream. At the present time there is a cottonwood nearly seven feet in diameter standing near the banks of Silver Creek, three miles north of Yates. The pioneer was not inconvenienced by the lack of timber for shelter or fuel.

The pioneer settlers have left records bearing testimony to the fact that they found an abundance of wild fruit in the county, especially in the timbered sections west of the Grand Prairie. The crab apple, mulberry, paw-paw, persimmon,

plum and haw were plentiful; as also were the hazel, hickory, and walnut. There was an abundance of blackberries, gooseberries, dewberries, and strawberries on or near the creek banks, especially in Silver Creek and Sweet Spring bottoms. Three species of wild grapevines were common throughout the county. This fruit meant much to the early settlers.

The prairies were covered in the proper season with numerous varieties of flowers, and with a coarse, tall grass that was used by the pioneer either green or cured as forage for stock. Blue-grass was unknown in the county when white men first arrived. According to pioneer records, it seems as if Foster's Prairie was peculiarly blessed with beautiful flowers of many kinds.¹

There was an abundance of wild life in the county. In the timber and upon the prairie were to be found the turkey, pheasant, grouse, prairie chicken, and the quail in large numbers. The gray and fox squirrels were so numerous that they were a source of great annoyance to the pioneer farmer because of their destructive activities in his corn patch. "Deer might be seen daily trooping over the prairie in droves of from twelve to twenty, and sometimes as many as fifty would be seen grazing together." Bears were found occasionally.² The buffalo had disappeared before the coming of the early settlers, yet his trails were plainly detected and soon became permanent roads for the white man. The woods were full of fur-bearing animals such as opossum, skunk, mink, fox, coon, wolves, panthers, and wildcat.

INDIANS

When the pioneer came to Randolph county he found much of the land in possession of the Sacs and Foxes. They had previously pushed out all other Indians, driving them further towards the setting sun.³ About a mile northwest of the village of Yates is a site of an old Indian village that was occupied when the first settlers entered the county in

¹The testimony of Jesse Terrill, one of the first settlers on Foster's Prairie.

²Allen Mayo, in *History of Randolph and Macon Counties*, (1984), p. 594.

³E. M. Violette, *History of Missouri*, (1918), p. 67.

1818. Here they had erected their huts and wigwams, and located their corn patches.⁴ About one mile east of this Indian village is the place where the Indians held their tribal and war dances.⁵ Even at this late date arrowheads, spearheads, flints, knives, and other Indian relics can be found.⁶

There have been many Indian relics found in the county, especially along the creeks and branches west of Grand Prairie and north of Foster's Prairie. Also, Indian relics have been discovered along the creeks in the extreme eastern part of Randolph, but it is a rare occasion for any to be found on the prairies.⁷ If the number of arrowheads, spearheads, etc., found is a good indication of the place the Indians chose to hunt, the Silver Creek and Sweet Spring region must have been their choice hunting grounds.

Within a few years of the coming of the pioneer, the Indians moved on west, never to return. It appears from records available that the Indians never molested the whites in the county, except to occasionally steal a horse or cow. True, they were more or less a source of annoyance; yet, so far as we know, no white man was killed by them.

The county received its last Indian scare in the summer of 1829.⁸ It was caused by the Indians interfering with the settlement of the "Cabin of White Forks" in July, 1829, killing stock and threatening the lives of the settlers.⁹ The people grew uneasy so they dispatched a messenger to Randolph for assistance.¹⁰ The Randolphians immediately responded by raising a company of fifty men under the command of Captain Robert Boucher.¹¹ They met the Indians in July, 1829, under the command of their leader, Chief Pumpkin, and defeated them, capturing some of the leaders. The Indians were tried at Huntsville, but freed.¹² This ended

⁴Harry Ryle, personal interview. He recalls seeing this village in ruins in his boyhood days, and of hearing Mr. Dysart, one of the first three settlers of the county, tell about the Indians who used it as a camp ground.

⁵The site is on Archie Stallman's farm.

⁶Personal observation of the author.

⁷Personal knowledge of the author.

⁸American Report of Indian Affairs, 1829.

⁹This settlement was located close to the present site of Kirksville.

¹⁰R. A. Campbell, *Gazetteer of Missouri*, p. 33.

¹¹Nathan Howe Parker, *Missouri as it is in 1867*, p. 370.

¹²Niles Register, I. 4 sec., p. 1.

forever the Indian menace so far as the people of Randolph were concerned.

In 1836 the last group of Indians in tribal state passed through the county, camping for several days on East Fork bottoms north of Huntsville. They were being conducted to Kansas by government officials.¹³

THE PEOPLE

It is believed that Randolph county was visited by hunters and trappers as early as 1809, coming up through Howard county from the settlements along the Missouri river; however Valentine Mayo who came in 1816 is the first to leave authentic records of such a visit.¹⁴

It was in the early spring of 1816 that Valentine Mayo left his family in Tennessee and started west, crossing the Mississippi river at New Madrid and traveling as far west as the region lying south of Silver Creek and to the north of the present village of Roanoke. It was here that the first log cabin was erected in primeval Randolph in the summer of 1816. The following year Valentine Mayo returned to Tennessee to get his family, but he found the folk gone to where he knew not and the only information he could gather was that they had gone north.¹⁵ He finally located them in a little cabin not far from the one he had erected nearly three years before.

Thomas Mayo, Valentine's father, and his son Allen had left Tennessee for Missouri; however they stopped long enough to raise a crop in Illinois, opposite the place where Hannibal now stands, in the summer of 1817. In the fall of 1817, Thomas Mayo and his son Allen spent several weeks on a prospecting trip into the interior of Missouri which carried them within a mile and a half of the little vacant cabin left by his son early that year.¹⁶ They returned to Illinois where

¹³W. T. Dameron, *An Humble Tribute of a Devoted Son to Honored Parents*.

¹⁴*History of Randolph and Macon Counties*, pp. 594-596.

¹⁵A letter from W. T. Dameron to the *Armstrong Herald*, February 1, 1926.

¹⁶Porter Mayo, personal interview. Mr. Mayo is son of Allen Mayo. He now resides in Clifton Hill, Missouri.

they wintered and made ready for the continuation of their trip the following spring.¹⁷

During the fall of the same year, 1817, William Holman and his brother Joseph prospected in this region. They had come from Madison county, Kentucky, and settled near old Franklin in 1817. In March, 1818, we find William Holman erecting a log cabin near a spring not far from the banks of Silver Creek.¹⁸ To William Holman and his family belongs the distinction of being the first permanent settlers of the county.¹⁹

When William Holman erected his log cabin the government had not offered any land for sale. "The emigrant selected his land and settled on it, and when the land came into market purchased it of the government at Franklin, where a land office was opened."²⁰

While William Holman was building his cabin Thomas Mayo and son Allen were bringing their families overland from Illinois to become the second settlers, arriving only a few weeks behind the Holmans. Thomas Mayo located about two miles west of Holman's cabin near the same creek and about a mile from the one his son Valentine had erected in 1816. Though the Holmans and Mayos were living within two miles of each other, it was not until June, 1819, that they discovered they were neighbors in the primeval forests.^{21 22}

James Dysart, a Kentuckian and a personal friend of William Holman, became the third permanent settler in the county some time in the summer of 1818. He built his cabin close to a spring near a tributary of Silver Creek, about two miles from Holman. Mr. Dysart came to Howard county in 1817 from near Lexington, Kentucky.^{23 24}

¹⁷W. T. Dameron, *An Humble Tribute of a Devoted Son to Honored Parents*, pp. 46-47.

¹⁸Squire Holman in History of Randolph and Macon Counties, pp. 92-95. Squire Holman was the son of William Holman and came to the county with his father.

¹⁹William Holman's cabin was built on the land now owned by John Dameron.

²⁰History of Randolph and Macon Counties, p. 93.

²¹W. T. Dameron in Armstrong Herald, February 1, 1926.

²²Thomas Mayo's cabin was erected on piece of land now owned by Jim Stark.

²³The site of Mr. Dysart's cabin is located on the piece of land now owned by Harry Ryle, one mile north of the village of Yates.

²⁴History of Randolph and Macon Counties, p. 92.

In the fall of 1818 Joseph Holman came to the county, settling near his brother, William Holman.²⁵

So far as we know at this late date these four families were the only people living in the county at the close of 1818. Three of them were Kentuckians and one Tennessean; however all of them were from old Virginia families. For the year 1818, these pioneer families mark the border line in this region of the "Great Migration." Slowly this movement had been gathering momentum, and by this time had already swept thousands of families loose from their mooring in the older communities, to cause them to turn up later somewhere along the frontier. Such families were the Holmans, Mayos, Dysarts and those who came within the next few years to Randolph.

In 1819 and 1820 settlers came in large numbers, settling in the southern portion of the county. After 1820 the immigration began to slow down until by 1824 it had practically ceased. Within three years after Holman built his cabin the settlement had stretched east beyond the present site of Higbee and a little north, where Huntsville now stands. This settlement was located on the timbered region west of Grand Prairie and north of Foster's Prairie with most of the cabins on or near some creek. It is difficult to ascertain how many families actually lived in the county at the close of 1824 but it appears that there could not have been many more than seventy-five, about four hundred persons. Most of them were located in the southwest corner of the county.²⁶ It appears as if at least 80% of these early settlers were Kentuckians whose ancestors were chiefly Virginians. Nearly 10% were from Tennessee and the balance were from other southern states, chiefly North Carolina and Virginia. It appears from the records that there was no immigration from the region north of the Ohio before 1825.²⁷ Many of these early families had stopped one season in western Illinois or in some section

²⁵Ibid., p. 92.

²⁶A. H. Waller, *History of Randolph County* (1920), pp. 115-116.

²⁷This is based on a study of forty-three families living in the county before 1825. The records of these families were gathered chiefly from the *History of Randolph and Macon Counties*, (1884).

of Missouri, chiefly in the Boon's Lick region, before moving on into Randolph.

By 1825 the shifting of population was as nearly steady and stagnant as it ever was in the United States. At this time the growth of population by immigration in Randolph was insignificant. This situation existed through the years 1826, 1827, with a little increase in 1828 that continued to swell during 1829 and 1830 until it reached great proportions, the crest coming in 1836. Between 1830 and 1836 the population increased 3,485 or 54%, in other words, an increase of an average of 580 each year. The immigrants prior to 1830 were largely Kentuckians with a few Tennesseans and Virginians; however during the migration of the early 30's the greater per cent of them came from North Carolina, although the people from Tennessee and Kentucky continued to come in goodly numbers. Occasionally we find a family coming from some of the eastern states or the states north of the Ohio river. The largest number of immigrants coming to Missouri was in the year of 1836.²⁸ During this period only three other counties received a larger increase by immigration, Boone, Ray, and St. Louis.²⁹

The first separate census of Randolph was taken in 1830, there being at that time 2,942 inhabitants, 2,447 whites and 493 slaves.³⁰ It is interesting to note that out of 2,942 inhabitants, 1,223 were under fifteen years old while there were only 100 over fifty years old in the county.³¹ By the time that the census of 1840 was taken the population had increased to 7,198, or an increase of 59%. Of this number 5,737 were whites and 1,449 were slaves.³² This decade stands out as the period in which Randolph's population showed the greatest increase throughout its entire history; this holds true for both whites and blacks. The whites increased 57.5% and the slaves 66%. By 1850 the population had reached 9,439, or an increase of 23.7%. During this decade the whites increased 1,461 or 21% while the slaves increased 707, or

²⁸Alphonso Wetmore, *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri*, 1837, p. 267.

²⁹Ibid., p. 267.

³⁰Census of the United States, 1830, p. 151.

³¹Ibid., p. 150.

³²Census of the United States, 1840, p. 410-411.

32.8%.³³ The census report for 1860 showed that there were 11,407 people in the county, or an increase of 17.2% during the 50's. There were 8,777 whites and 2,619 slaves.³⁴ This was the first decade since the first census of 1830 that the whites increased faster than the slave population. The whites increased 17.3% while the slaves showed only 17%. Of this slave population in 1860, 362 were mulattoes.³⁵

In all probability John C. Shaefer was the first foreign born emigrant to settle in Randolph, coming to Huntsville in 1837. He was a native of Germany and came to this country because of his love for republican institutions.³⁶ There were only nineteen foreign born people in Randolph during the 50's, most of whom were from England or Ireland.³⁷ However, the census of 1860 shows that the foreign born had increased to 122. Most of them were still from the British Isles; yet there were a few Germans living here, who had for the most part come here after 1855.³⁸

ORGANIZATION

Randolph was a part of Howard until November 16, 1820, when it was cut off that county and incorporated in Chariton. It remained a part of Chariton for nine years, becoming Randolph on January 22, 1829.³⁹

As early as 1826 there was agitation in the eastern part of Chariton for a new county, chiefly on account of the distance and inaccessibility of the seat of justice. Roads and means of travel were very poor. During the years 1827 and 1828 the movement gathered momentum until by the late summer and fall of the latter year, the interest was sufficient for a division of Chariton county and the formation of a new one. The petition was given to Mr. Daniel Ashby, the representative from Chariton, who was requested to present it to the 5th General Assembly. On December 2, 1828, "Mr. Ashby

³³*Census of the United States, 1850*, p. 655.

³⁴*Census of the United States, 1860*, p. 655.

³⁵*Census of the United States; Population, 1860*, p. 655.

³⁶*History of Randolph and Macon Counties*, p. 521.

³⁷*Census of the United States, 1850*, p. 645.

³⁸*Census of the United States; Population, 1860*, p. 300.

³⁹*Missouri Intelligencer*, February 6, 1829.

presented the petition of sundry inhabitants of the County of Chariton praying a division of said county, and the formation of a new one, which, on motion of Mr. Ashby, was referred to a Select Committee, consisting of Messrs. Daniel Ashby, of Chariton, H. Martin of Jefferson, and Stephen Glascock of Ralls.⁴⁰ The original bill proposed to organize a county of Smith⁴¹ but the committee reported a new bill for the organization of the county of Randolph,⁴² on Friday, December 12, 1828. On December 24, 1828, the bill was sent to the Senate. On January 22, 1829, Governor John Miller signed the bill which took effect immediately, so this year marks the birthday of Randolph county, being one hundred years old on January 22, 1929.⁴³

As provided by law, Governor Miller appointed James Head, William Fort and Joseph M. Baker as members of the first county court, with Hancock Jackson as sheriff. As required by the act, the county court held its first meeting at the home of Blandermin Smith on February 2, 1829. The court organized by appointing James Head as president and Robert Wilson as clerk. Before adjourning it ordered all applicants for county offices to file their applications with the clerk.⁴⁴

The following day the court met and recommended nine names to Governor Miller for justices of the peace of the various townships of the new county.⁴⁵ During the same day, February 3, 1829, the court divided the county into townships, creating four—Silver Creek, Prairie, Salt Spring, and Sugar Creek. The court then appointed the county officers, including the constables for the townships, and then adjourned.⁴⁶

⁴⁰*Journals of the 5th General Assembly.*

⁴¹It was to be named in honor of Blandermin Smith, one of the prime leaders in the movement for the erection of a new county.

⁴²It was named in honor of John Randolph of Roanoke.

⁴³*Journals of the 5th General Assembly.*

⁴⁴*Records of the County Court.*

⁴⁵They were Blandermin Smith, James Wells, and Archibald Shoemaker, for Salt Spring township; John Peeler and Elisha McDaniel, for Sugar Creek township; Thomas Bradley, John Viley, and John Dysert, for Silver Creek township; Charles McLean, for Prairie township.

⁴⁶Surveyor, Thomas J. Gorham; Assessor, Terry Bradley; collector, Jacob Medley; constables, Nathan Hunt, Nathan Floyd, John McCully, Abraham Goodding.

On March 1, 1829, the county court met in special session and established the temporary seat of justice at the house of William Goggin, which remained the seat of justice until the fall of 1832 when the new court house was completed at Huntsville.⁴⁷ Huntsville was selected as the site of the permanent seat of justice on January 5, 1830.⁴⁸ The site of Huntsville was given by William Goggin, Gideon Wright, William Winburn, and Daniel Hunt without compensation.⁴⁹ The county seat was named in honor of Daniel Hunt, the first settler on the site where Huntsville now stands.⁵⁰

The first court house "was a brick structure, two stories high, built in a square form, one room below used as the court room and the three above used as the jury rooms." This building was replaced in 1860 by a larger and better building upon the same grounds.⁵¹

The first county jail was a log structure and was used until 1865 when it was torn down and a new one erected.⁵²

The first circuit court was held by Hon. David Todd, of Boone county, at the residence of William Goggin in 1829. Robert Wilson was clerk; Hancock Jackson, sheriff; and James Gordon, prosecuting attorney. The court dealt with only two cases, one for "assault and battery" and the other one for resisting legal process.⁵³

The early court house at Huntsville soon became a general meeting place for all kinds of meetings, judicial, educational, religious, and social. In one of the upper rooms was held the first Masonic meeting in Huntsville and it remained the Masonic hall for a number of years. The circuit court room soon became the forum of the people, a place where political issues and questions were debated and discussed. It also served as a place for travelers to stop and rest on their long, tiresome journeys to the frontier of settlement. It is said that one of the two greatest religious revivals ever held

⁴⁷*History of Randolph and Macon Counties*, p. 122.

⁴⁸*The Moberly Home Press*, September 4, 1927.

⁴⁹*Records of the County Court*, 1830.

⁵⁰*The Moberly Home Press*, September 4, 1927.

⁵¹*History of Randolph and Macon Counties*, pp. 122-123.

⁵²G. W. Dameron, *The Day of Yore*, p. 13.

⁵³*History of Randolph and Macon Counties*, pp. 116-117.

in the county was conducted in this court house by a Baptist minister, Rev. A. P. Williams, in August, 1839. The importance of the court house as a center of activities for the people of a county during the early days has often been overlooked by historians.

SLAVERY

It is not known at this late date when or who brought the first slaves into the county; however by 1830 there were 493⁵⁴ slaves held by the pioneers; many were brought here from Kentucky and Tennessee. During the 30's slaves increased fast in the county; many were brought in between 1830 and 1836 by the immigrants from North Carolina.⁵⁵ This was the decade when slaves became profitable for they were put into the hemp, corn and tobacco fields, especially in the tobacco fields after 1836 but chiefly in the hemp fields before that date. During the 40's slavery became a fixed institution, growing more profitable as tobacco became the money crop of the county. Slavery continued to increase up to about 1856 when it reached its peak. After this date slavery was on a decline, decreasing in number and valuation each year until the outbreak of the Civil War.⁵⁶ This situation is due to two causes—first, the people were beginning to realize that slavery was not so profitable as white labor in a region of small farms; second, several slave buyers for the southern markets were operating in the county who caused many to sell at a good price, coupled with the depression following the panic of 1857.⁵⁷

While Randolph ranked fifteenth as a slave county in 1860, it always remained a county of small slave holders, since no one at any time possessed more than thirty slaves. Out of 504 slave holders in the county in 1860, 78.9% held

⁵⁴*Census of the United States, 1830*, p. 151.

⁵⁵W. G. Dameron, *The Days of Yore*, p. 7.

⁵⁶*Randolph Citizen*, October 2, 1858; August 16, 1860.

⁵⁷Some of the large slave holders during the 50's were Jack Viley, William Birch, Nicholas Dysert, Hiram Roberson, Dabney Garth, Will Waldon, Moses Bradsher, William Bradley, William Stark, Jesse Terrill, Giliead McCary, John Fray, John Alexandra, John A. Pitts, John Henderson, James Lea, Ashley G. Lea, Allen Mayo, George Mathis, Hancock Jackson, George Swetnam, James K. Carter, S. C. Davis, Charles Allen, Cornelius Vaughn, and Bartholomew Dameron.

from 1 to 7 slaves each while 21.5% owned only one slave apiece. The average for each slave owner in Randolph was 5.19 while the average for the state was 4.72.⁵⁸ Only one person out of seventeen possessed a slave and one family out of every 2.4 was a slave owner in 1860.

Slaves were not evenly distributed throughout the county. The "Black Belt" was located in Silver Creek, Sugar Creek and Salt Spring townships.⁵⁹ According to the per cent of white population Silver Creek supported the largest number of slaves, 640 or 24.4% of the total number of negroes while its white population was only 12.8%.⁶⁰ Slavery was first introduced in Silver Creek township which remained the heart of the black population throughout slave days.⁶¹ Tobacco was first raised in that township, which continued to be the leading tobacco section up to the outbreak of the Civil War. It can easily be seen that slavery and tobacco flourished together in the county.

During the 40's a few blacks were shipped in for sale and sold at public auction at Roanoke and Huntsville.⁶² Public slave sales were held at these places during the decades of the 40's and 50's, increasing during the last half of the 50's.⁶³ What is believed to be the last public slave auction in the county took place in front of the court house at Huntsville on January 2, 1850. At this time sixty slaves were sold and "the high prices of the past season were well kept up." Out of the sixty only three were bought by traders while the remainder were bought by citizens of Randolph.⁶⁴ During these annual auctions many slaves were put up for hire during the season instead of being sold. These days were noted days for Huntsville. The people would gather from all parts of the county to buy or sell slaves and visit with their friends that they had not seen for weeks, if not for months.

⁵⁸Census of the United States, Population, 1860, p. 234.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 296.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 296.

⁶¹G. W. Dameron, *The Days of Yore*, p. 17.

⁶²Ibid., p. 17.

⁶³Lizzie Stark, personal interview; *Randolph Citizen* files, 1855-1860.

⁶⁴*Randolph Citizen*, January 13, 1860.

Such an occasion was a great social affair for the people in the pre-Civil War days.⁶⁵

It appears as if the slave trader operated little, if any, in the county prior to 1850; however he began to operate in the early 50's and continued to increase his activities during the latter part of this decade. In the *Randolph Citizen*, August 23, 1860, Mr. W. A. Busby advertises that he "wishes to purchase one hundred likely young negroes from 10-25 years of age. I will pay the HIGHEST CASH PRICES." In the September 13, 1860, issue of the *Randolph Citizen* appears the last slave advertisement of a slave dealer in the county. In it Mr. M. B. R. Williams advertises for fifty "likely and middle aged negroes of both sexes."

Slavery ended in Randolph when the Constitutional Convention passed the ordinance abolishing slavery on January 11, 1865.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Randolph county pioneer was fortunate, for he found an abundance of wild game and fruit. Game remained plentiful in the county until the early 50's. For more than three decades the people of the county depended upon wild game to supply their meat with little expense and without the loss of much time.⁶⁶

Another source of food was the bee tree. The forests along the creeks were prolific of bee trees, especially along Silver Creek and East Fork; however, in late summer many of the early settlers would go to the Chariton river and camp for days, for the purpose of hunting and securing the honey of the wild bees.⁶⁷ The sugar maples growing along Silver Creek and its contributaries also produced much of the sweets for the early pioneer. The wild honey and maple sugar were consumed locally;⁶⁸ little, if any, was sent out of the county. In the 50's sorghum cane was introduced which gradually supplanted honey and maple sugar.

⁶⁵G. W. Dameron, *The Days of Yore*, p. 17.

⁶⁶G. W. Dameron, *The Days of Yore*, p. 9.

⁶⁷*History of Randolph and Macon Counties*, pp. 109-110.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 109.

Along with sugar one of the necessities of life is salt. In 1823 Dr. William Fort and Tolman Gorham opened and operated salt works which were located at what is now known as Randolph Springs.⁶⁹ In 1820 Mr. Tolman Gorham made the first salt from these springs for his neighbors, only a few bushels, but by 1840 the salt works were producing 6,000 bushels, or 83.7% of the salt produced in the entire state.⁷⁰ These salt works are more apt to be underestimated than overestimated in considering the early growth and development of this section of Missouri. They were an important and vital factor in the early days of the county's history.

In the fall of 1819 the first mill was built by Moses Bradsher, located about two miles northwest of Yates, not far from the old Pleasant Grove church house.⁷¹ It was an old-fashioned horse mill which ground only corn. The crushed corn had to be sifted as there were no bolts in the mill.⁷² In the following year, 1820, Mr. Hickman erected a mill on the banks of Sweet Spring at a cost of \$50. This was the first water power mill in the county. At first this mill ground only corn, and was of the same type as the first mill with no bolts.⁷³ The mill had no gearing, the buhrs being located over the wheel, and running with the same velocity as the wheel. It was a frame mill, one story high, and had a capacity of fifty bushels a day. A pioneer tells us that "People came from far and near, attracted by the reports of the completion of the mill, with their grist, so that for days before it was ready for work, the creek bottom was dotted over with hungry and patient men, waiting until it was ready to do their work so that they might return with their meal to supply their families, and those of their neighbors."

In 1833 the first flour mill was erected by David Herring and Rev. S. C. Davis on the banks of Sweet Spring, close to the bridge that spans the stream on Highway No. 20. In 1856 Mr. J. H. Bagby became its owner.⁷⁴ This mill was a

⁶⁹The Moberly Home Press, August 7, 1927.

⁷⁰Census of the United States, 1840, p. 356.

⁷¹Mrs. Lizzie Stark, Personal Interview.

⁷²The site of this old primitive mill is now owned by John B. Stark.

⁷³Squire Holman in *History of Randolph and Macon Counties*, p. 93.

⁷⁴G. W. Dameron, *The Days of Yore*, p. 18.

two-story frame building run by water power. This was the largest and most popular mill in the county. It not only ground flour and meal but also ginned cotton and carded wool.

The people depended to a great extent on vegetables and fruits for their food the year round. In the pioneer gardens were to be found peas, beans, cabbages, watermelons, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, onions, turnips, asparagus, sage, horseradish, mint, and pumpkins.⁷⁵ The apple, peach, and plum were the chief fruits raised by the early settlers. Abraham Gross set out the first apple orchard in the county near the present site of Silver Creek Baptist Church some time during the early 20's.⁷⁶ The pioneers would dry apples and peaches for their use during the winter months; also, they attempted to raise enough beans and potatoes for winter use. They kept their vegetables by burying them in the late fall.

Poultry was not very important before the Civil war days; however, most farms produced enough to supply its members with eggs and meat. There was no occasion for a family to produce more than it could consume since it could not market poultry products. The chicken, duck, and goose were the chief poultry to be found on a pioneer farm.

In the early days Randolph ranked high as a dairy county; however, in the 50's it started on a decline that continued for several decades. The people were beginning to turn their attention to tobacco and corn growing, a fact that was destined to change the economic and social life of the people.

During the 20's and 30's one finds agriculture very much diversified in the county with no outstanding crop. In these decades wheat, corn, oats, rye, buckwheat, hemp, tobacco, and flax were grown on a paying scale. In 1840 there was an average of 1.8 bushels of wheat raised per person, while there were 51.7 bushels of corn and 10.7 bushels of oats. In the decade of the 40's wheat production increased to 3.7 bushels per person; corn, 78 bushels; oats, 11.6 bushels. This is also the decade of flax production; 17,368 pounds were produced

⁷⁵Census of the United States, 1840, 1850, and 1860; Mrs. Lizzie Stark, personal interview.

⁷⁶G. W. Dameron, *The Days of Yore*, p. 30.

in 1850, but by 1860 there was very little grown in the county. There was a little cotton grown during the 40's and 50's. In 1850 Randolph was one of the fifteen counties producing silk; however on a small basis.

One has to turn to the tobacco crop to see what was really happening in the county. Tobacco had been raised here since the coming of the first pioneers but did not reach significant proportions until the latter part of the 30's. By 1850 it had become the leading crop of the people and it grew in importance all during the 50's while all grain crops decreased noticeably with the exception of corn which was gradually coming to that place where it would challenge the position of tobacco in the economic life of the people. At the moment tobacco became the leading crop we see a decided change in the economic, social, political, and financial development of the people. It was the dawn of a new day; the key to much of the county's history during the decade before the Civil War.⁷⁷

In the decades of the 20's, 30's, and 40's live stock showed a small but steady increase per person; however, during the 50's it either barely held its own, as in the case of cattle, or lost noticeably, as in the case of hogs and sheep. During this same decade horses and mules showed a marked increase. They were needed in the tobacco and corn fields.⁷⁸

In the early days the farmers used pioneer farm implements. The first plow used was the "bull plow." In most cases the mold-board was made out of wood; although some were half wood and half iron. The farmer possessing one of these plows was looked upon by his neighbors as something of an aristocrat. Corn was planted by hand, covered with a hoe or by a rock dragged by a horse. At first the grain was cut with a scythe and later with a cradle, and thrashed with a flail or trodden out by horses and oxen. Hay was mowed with a scythe and raked by hand.⁷⁹ Mr. G. W. Dameron says that "the first wheat thrasher that I remember of was brought into the county in the early 50's. It was

⁷⁷Census reports for 1840, 1850, and 1860.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹History of Randolph and Macon Counties, p. 107.

purchased by Dr. J. J. Watts, was run by horse power and did not separate the wheat from the chaff. . . . The first thrasher and separator in the county was brought in at the close of the Civil war. It belonged to Joe Vaughan and William Poteat, and it cost \$600. They charged ten cents per bushel for thrashing wheat.⁸⁰ The first mowing machine was brought into the county by Thomas Mayo, shortly after the close of the Civil war.⁸¹

The first fair organization was called "Randolph Agricultural and Mechanical Society," and the first fair was held in September, 1854, at Huntsville.⁸² These fairs were held annually until the outbreak of the Civil war when they were discontinued for a few years.⁸³ The fairs exerted much influence on the development of agriculture in the county, especially in the line of live stock. From this time on until the outbreak of the Civil war the farmers were importing better live stock for the purpose of improving their native stock.⁸⁴ The farmers of the county would take most of the premiums at their own fair and then they would go to the fairs in Monroe, Howard, Boone, and Audrain and take far more than those counties would in Randolph. The county had much good stock in it during the 50's. The *Paris Mercury* says that it "had the best in this part of the state taking it as a whole."⁸⁵

Farm labor was cheap in the early days. A man would work for \$125 a year, including room and board. It was possible to get men to grub for 37½ cents a day as late as the 40's.⁸⁶

The early settlers found themselves far away from a trading post; up until 1823 there were no stores nearer than fifty miles. They seldom made the journey to these distant trading posts, but when they did they either traveled on horse-

⁸⁰G. W. Dameron, *The Days of Yore*, p. 15.

⁸¹W. T. Dameron, in the *Armstrong Herald*, July 20, 1928.

⁸²*Randolph Citizen*, September 1, 1855.

⁸³The files of the *Randolph Citizen* give details of these fairs from year to year.

⁸⁴*Randolph Citizen*, March, 1856; *Glasgow Times*, April, 1856.

⁸⁵*Randolph Citizen*, September 11, 1858.

⁸⁶G. W. Dameron, *The Days of Yore*, p. 8.

back or in an oxen cart.⁸⁷ It was a slow tiresome, and somewhat dangerous trip for there were no roads, bridges or inhabitants through much of the territory they had to travel. When the pioneer made the trip he tried to bring back supplies to last the neighborhood for months. The two trading posts the early Randolphians used were old Franklin and Chariton; however this trade practically ceased in 1823 when Fayette was established. However, Glasgow was founded in 1836 and it soon succeeded Fayette as the chief shipping and trading center for the people. The road between Huntsville and Fayette became the main thoroughfare for trade and travel in the early 20's and has continued to be an important road from those days to the present.⁸⁸

In 1827, D. C. Garth opened the first store and thus laid the foundation for the present town of Huntsville.⁸⁹ In the following year James Head opened a store at what is now known as Roanoke but at that time called Head's Store, which name it held until 1836 when it was called Van Buren, but soon afterwards called Roanoke.⁹⁰ In 1832 William Upton opened the third store at Uptonville in connection with D. C. Garth who operated one at Huntsville. Uptonville was rechristened Mt. Airy⁹¹ in 1837 when the post office was established. The fourth town, Milton, was started by J. B. Dameron in 1836 when a store was opened for the people of the northeastern part of the county.⁹² For the next twenty years there were no new towns laid out in the county; however in 1856 Darksville in the northwestern and Renick⁹³ in the southeastern part of the county were started. These towns indicate what was happening in this section—the prairies were being settled. Not until the 50's do we find many people living on the prairies of the county. Two years later, 1858, Jacksonville,⁹⁴ Allen,⁹⁵ and Fairview were established.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁸⁸This road is now part of the Highway No. 20.

⁸⁹Squire Holman in the *History of Randolph and Macon Counties*, p. 93.

⁹⁰R. A. Campbell, *Gazetteer of Missouri*, p. 228.

⁹¹Named after Mt. Airy, North Carolina, by people from that state that had settled in this region during the early 30's.

⁹²R. A. Campbell, *Gazetteer of Missouri*, p. 187.

⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 470.

⁹⁴Named in honor of Hancock Jackson.

⁹⁵Later moved to Moberly.

They were located upon Grand Prairie; however one should hasten to add that the coming of the railroads had much to do in establishing two of them, Jacksonville and Fairview. In 1860 Fairview was called Cairo.⁹⁶

The first postoffice was established in 1830 at Head's Store. In 1837 there were six in the county,⁹⁷ and in 1860 they had been increased to eight.⁹⁸

From 1818 to 1860, forty-two years, was witnessed the evolution of a community from frontier society to that of a stable, organized, wealth producing people. Pioneer days are over.

POLITICS

As a county, Randolph participated in a national election for the first time in 1832. At this election it cast its vote overwhelmingly for Andrew Jackson. It again went Democratic in 1836, casting 67.1% of its vote for Martin Van Buren; yet, one can clearly detect the growing strength of the opposition—the Whig party—among the voters of the county. Little did the Democrats realize in 1836 that they were not to enjoy another victory during the next fourteen years, not until Franklin Pierce carried the county by 26 votes in 1852. During the campaigns of 1840, 1844, and 1848 the Whigs were victorious by a small margin, the largest majority being in 1848 when Zachariah Taylor won by a majority of 99. Politically, Randolph was a close county up to 1860.

After the election of 1836 the Whigs began to fill the county offices and by 1840 every officer except one was a Whig. From 1840 to 1852 the vote between the Democrats and Whigs was very close, and it behooved both parties to nominate their best men. The Whigs elected their first representative to the General Assembly in 1838, George Burckhardt. Mr. Burckhardt was one of the outstanding leaders in the Whig party and to him much credit is due for its organization and strength.⁹⁹

⁹⁶R. A. Campbell, *Gazetteer of Missouri*, p. 469.

⁹⁷Alphonso Wetmore, *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri*, 1837, p. 273.

⁹⁸R. A. Campbell, *Gazetteer of Missouri*, 1860, pp. 739-743.

⁹⁹G. W. Dameron, *The Days of Yore*.

It appears as if the main strength of the Democratic party was located in the older settled region while the Whigs were the strongest in the newer sections. Silver Creek township, the oldest and also the "black belt" of the county, was always in the Democratic column from 1832 to 1860. In other words, the slave and tobacco section of the county returned Democratic majorities. Many of the largest slave holders of the county were Democrats while the small slave holders were usually Whigs. Also, the large tobacco raisers were Democrats, while the mill and tobacco factories were largely operated by Whigs.¹⁰⁰

After the election of 1852 the Whig party began to disintegrate, never again to be a power in the political life of the county. During the next four years a mushroom party appears on the scene, the American party or Know-Nothing. This party grew to such an extent and influence in Randolph that Millard Fillmore was able to carry it in 1856 by 11 votes. This campaign was hard and bitter with most of the old Whigs lining up with the American ticket. During the four years between 1852 and 1856 one can detect the break up of the old party organizations of the 40's and early 50's and the beginning of the new organizations which were to grapple with the new issues that were to reach a climax in 1860.

The Kansas troubles were now looming upon the western horizon which caused much excitement among the people of the county. A number of the citizens went to Kansas in 1855 to vote in the interest of slavery.¹⁰¹ It is interesting to note that those who went were not large slave holders, in fact, as far as the writer has been able to ascertain, many did not possess a single slave.

Probably the most bitter political canvass in the history of Randolph prior to the Civil War was the one waged in 1858, in which the crux of the campaign was the race for representative between H. D. Wilcox, Democrat, and George Burckhardt, Independent. Burckhardt during the campaign attacked Buchanan, the shortcomings of the Hannibal and St.

¹⁰⁰This conclusion is based upon a study of 125 families in the county during the 40's and early 50's.

¹⁰¹*Report of the Howard Committee*, p. 130.

Joseph railroad company, and the *Randolph Citizen* which was waging a bitter campaign against him. The chief issue used against him was that he was a Know-Nothing in spite of the fact that he was running as an Independent. The *Randolph Citizen* charged him with being "a dangerous and an un-American man." The canvass resulted in Burckhart's defeat by 16 votes. While the Democrats won, they were disappointed for they polled at least 75 votes less than their normal strength, in fact if it had not been for Chariton township's abnormal Democratic vote the ticket would have been defeated. The disintegration of the political organizations that started shortly after 1852 was now complete for chaos now reigned supreme in the political activities of the county.¹⁰²

For several years prior to 1860 there had been a powerful group of politicians around Huntsville who had been controlling the nominations of the Democratic county ticket. Protest had been increasing, chiefly from Silver Creek township, until the *Randolph Citizen* on February 3, 1860, came out in an editorial advocating the calling of a county convention composed of delegates elected in township mass meetings as a means to restore harmony once again to the Democrats of the county. This article led to the calling of a county convention. On March 19, 1860, the first county convention met at Huntsville and named a county ticket and appointed delegates to the State Convention. The delegates were not formally instructed but were believed to be for Mr. Waldo P. Johnson for governor.¹⁰³

There seems to have been general satisfaction in the county over the nomination of C. F. Jackson as the Democratic nominee for governor; in fact, the friends of Hancock Jackson strongly urged him to remain out of the race but contrary to the advice of his home friends he entered the canvass in opposition to C. F. Jackson. The Democrats were afraid that Hancock Jackson would divide the Democratic vote and thus lose not only the State ticket but also the county ticket which was vital to the party if it was to control the county. Most of the Democrats supported C. F. Jackson; however,

¹⁰²*Randolph Citizen*, August 7, 1852.

¹⁰³*Randolph Citizen*, March 23, 1860.

enough of Hancock Jackson's personal friends voted for him to give the county to Sample Orr. This was especially true in Union township, the home of Hancock Jackson. C. F. Jackson polled more votes in all the townships than ever before were cast for a Democrat, except the townships of Union and Sugar Creek, the ones that gave Hancock Jackson his largest vote. Orr's vote was composed chiefly of former Whigs and Americans, while Hancock Jackson's supporters were chiefly Democrats along with his personal following among the Whigs and the Americans. One must not forget that Hancock Jackson cut in on both Orr and C. F. Jackson; however he took more from the latter, probably about two votes from C. F. Jackson to one from Sample Orr.¹⁰⁴ The Democrats elected four and the Union people three of the county offices.

Before the State election was over the national campaign was getting under way in the county. The Breckenridge people held their county convention on September 3, 1860, at Huntsville.¹⁰⁵ Seven days later, September 10, 1860, a mass meeting of the Democratic party was held at Huntsville at which C. F. Jackson and J. B. Clark made enthusiastic speeches. This meeting declared that the preservation of the Union was the dominant issue and called upon all Democrats to help defeat the "Black" Republicans by supporting Stephen A. Douglas. At this meeting most of the active leaders of the Democratic party of the county were in attendance.¹⁰⁶ Before long the campaign was in full swing with Douglas and Bell people fighting the radical element under the banner of Breckenridge. There seems to have been no Lincoln sentiment in the county. The Breckenridge men had the support of the *Randolph Citizen*, which on July 5, 1860, hoisted Breckenridge at its mast head because he "occupies the true constitutional position and correctly recognizes the great principles of right of the South under the constitution, and the equality of States." The size of the Breckenridge vote

¹⁰⁴This material is gathered from the *Randolph Citizen*, especially the issue, August 9, 1860.

¹⁰⁵*Randolph Citizen*, September 8, 1860.

¹⁰⁶*Randolph Citizen*, September 8, 1860.

in the county is to a great extent due to the influence of this paper and that of Hancock Jackson. The election resulted in Bell carrying the county with a vote of 821 or 47.6%. The situation was so confused that it is impossible to make any accurate analysis of the vote; however this one fact does stand out clearly and that is, the people of Randolph were conservative, opposed the radical view of Breckenridge on the one hand and that of Lincoln on the other, expecting above all other things to stand by the Union.

On November 10, four days after the election of Lincoln, a call for a Union mass meeting to meet at Huntsville on November 26 was issued, signed by fifty-three citizens from all sections of the county who represented the Douglas, Bell, and Breckenridge elements. This was the largest meeting ever held in Randolph prior to the Civil war. The meeting passed a resolution deplored the election of Lincoln as a sectional victory of the North over the South, yet declared "we are unwilling to surrender the Union." On the eve of the Civil war one can say with certainty that the people of Randolph were pro-slavery but, on the other hand, very strong for the maintenance of the Union. When H. T. Fort, the chairman, adjourned this mass meeting the first period of the growth and development of Randolph county closed.

DUCHARME'S INVASION OF MISSOURI AN INCIDENT IN THE ANGLO-SPANISH RI- VALRY FOR THE INDIAN TRADE OF UPPER LOUISIANA

BY ABRAHAM P. NASATIR

PART II

DOCUMENT IV

My dear Sir:¹

I am sending to Your Lordship a copy of the three declarations² taken from the "Engagees" or salaried companions of Juan Maria Ducharme, a trader from the British possessions and an intruder in our (Spanish province of) Missouri for your greatest proof of his offense and your better understanding of the circumstances. Because all thirteen depositions are alike, and his testimonial is the same, I have omitted sending you the rest of them in order to save Your Lordship the trouble of a voluminous repetition, but if Your Lordship deems it necessary I shall do so punctually at your suggestion.

Likewise, I am enclosing a copy of a letter in Castilian³ that I wrote in French (in order to make it more easily understood) to the actual commandant of the English possessions (the translation of which is also enclosed) regarding the safe introduction of his subjects in the Missouri. I am also enclosing a copy of the reply in French of the aforesaid leader and its translation into Spanish,⁴ so that, after Your Lordship is informed, you will notify me of all that is necessary to do, in order to fulfill articles two and three of the instructions I am following. You will know how different are the decisions of our equitable Government for the preservation of good harmony, from those of the British Isles as pointed out by this *commandante*. If I had not decided on my part to repress this abuse and transgression with an expedient in the

¹Archivo General de Indias, Sección, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2357.

²These declarations follow.

³See Document I.

⁴See Document II.

nature of the one I have communicated to Your Lordship, the practice of the aforesaid traders would go unpunished and would stimulate many others realizing the tolerance of their government to the detriment of our commerce and rights. I include this copy together with the copy concerning the seizure accomplished by the detachment sent against Ducharme, his chastisement being a warning for them (other traders).

The complaint, which, as the commander indicates, that might have been produced against a certain Hubardeau,^b trader from Ste. Genevieve, is quite different and its consequences quite otherwise from the (complaint) which I made the object of my complaint (de la que hizo al obgetto de la mia). Consequently, his statement does not agree with the reports that I have obtained, which assure me that the Indians whom the referred-to Hubardeau accompanied in the chase were those residing in the town of Ste. Genevieve. Having gone farther down (below) this settlement he traded his merchandise with them (but) on the Spanish side. It is evident that neither he nor any other of our men (traders) can sell the merchandise at a profit at the same or lower prices than their traders sell them and profit. Therefore, this pretext seems to have been deliberately formed in order to balance in part, the proven transgression of his traders and to weaken by it (this pretext) the right of my regular demand which was forwarded (El derecho de mi dirigida, regular demanda).

No one who had the right to establish a complaint like his was forced to omit or nullify the efforts which he indicates he made in an effort to seize the denounced trader, because all Indian tribes are freely allowed to hunt indistinctly (indistintamente). The treaty of peace permits the vassals of either country to navigate and travel freely on the Mississippi. That was what our trader did. He did not incite the Nations for the purpose of carrying on commerce with them which is prohibited, nor (did he) navigate any river (where commerce is carried) nor did he enter the territory of a foreign power

^bConcerning Hubardeau, see *supra*.

as the traders of his (English) jurisdiction and territory have done.

May Our Lord keep Your Lordship many years.

St. Louis, April 11, 1773.

PEDRO PIERNAS, (rubrique),

(To) Señor Don Luis de Unzaga.⁶

(Accompanying the above)

A copy of the declarations taken from the Engages, companions of Juan Maria Ducharme, trader from the English district, who entered clandestinely, the Missouri River belonging to Your Catholic Majesty.

YEAR 1773.

On the fifteenth day of the month of March of the year 1773 in the city of St. Louis of Illinois in the district (comarca del Gobierno) of the Government; I, Don Pedro Piernas, Captain of the Infantry and Lieutenant-Governor of the Settlements and dependencies of the Illinois; as a consequence of the verbal process that Mr. Pedro Laclede Liguest,⁷ Commander appointed by myself and sent with a detachment of volunteers of this Post to the Missouri River, belonging to His Catholic Majesty, in order to arrest the person and property of the one called Juan Maria Ducharme, English trader who had entered it (the river) disregarding the privileges of the government, and particular forbiddings (still) made for the vassals of the His Catholic Majesty (to go and provide any sort of merchandise, munitions of war or any other help to the savage tribes established on it) because of his openly having criminally attempted against the lives and properties of the neighbors of this Spanish district, (which detachment) he formed in order to make certain the meeting of the aforesaid Ducharme, accompanied by thirteen men on the referred to Missouri River like the embargo of his property which consists of various sorts of furs, merchandise and munitions of war with five boats used for their transportation,

⁶Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga was the first Spanish Governor-General of Louisiana, 1770-1776

⁷Concerning Pedro Laclede Liguest, see the article which precedes the translations of these documents and the references there cited, especially note 15.

as it is more fully circumstantiated in the above mentioned verbal process which he gave me; I had appear before me the men named below, which the aforesaid Pedro Laclede (Liquet) brought with him and who call themselves sailors of the aforesaid Ducharme, in order to receive from them their depositions on the following questions, the execution of which was proceeded with the accustomed formalities; having each one of them appear successively and separately and without using any force, violence, or threats; allowing them their full liberty as they testify in the presence of Mr. Luis St. Ange de Bellerrive, retired Infantry Captain and former commander of this post of St. Louis; Mr. Antonio de Oro, subteniente of this Garrison; Mr. Bolse and Mr. Beletre, retired Infantry Lieutenant and Subteniente; Mr. Juan Baptista Martiny, Captain of the Militia, and Messrs. Luis Peraubt and Joseph Papin, Merchants, and residents of this Post,⁸ summoned to be witnesses of all that was going on which is as follows:

In the first place, after having had appeared before my presence one of them and after having had him raise his right hand, I have questioned him thus: do you swear by God and promise the King to tell the truth about the points I am going to question you on?

He answered: Yes, I swear to and promise it.

Declaration of Juan Baupertista Bernard: Questioned what his name is, what religion he professes, how old he is and from what country he is.

He answered that his name is Juan Baupertista Bernard, that he professes the Apostolic Roman Catholic Religion, and that he is about fifty-four or fifty-five years old, and that he comes from Montreal, Canada.

Questioned if he knows who conducted him to this post and for what purpose.

He answered that he was conducted there by a detachment sent by Mr. Pedro Laclede Liquet because he had been

⁸Concerning these men some comments may be found in Houck's *History of Missouri and Spanish Regime in Missouri*; J. T. Scharf, *History of St. Louis City and County* (Philadelphia, 1886); and Billon's *Annals of St. Louis*.

on the Mississippi (Missouri) river with the one called Juan Maria Ducharme.

Questioned who is that one called Ducharme, where he is from, where his ordinary residence is and how far from the mouth of the Missouri River he had been arrested.

He answered that the aforesaid Ducharme is an English trader, a native of the town of La Chine and a resident of that town, dependency of the Government of Montreal; recently come to Kaos, a Pueblo situated in the English District and that he was arrested about twenty-five *leguas* above the mouth of, and on the aforesaid Missouri River.

Asked why he had entered this river with the aforesaid Ducharme and if there were more than the two of them.

He answered that he was an "Engage" of the aforesaid Ducharme and was to serve him in that capacity in the trade he was going to conduct with the savage tribes; and that there were thirteen Engages.

Being asked where he was engaged, who induced him to accept, and at what price.

He answered that he was hired in the aforesaid Kaos situated in the English district at the request of Ducharme himself at the price of a hundred pounds of furs, with the privilege of trading for his own personal benefit some small effects (*menudencias*) which he had.

Being asked if when he was hired he had any information or evidence that it was for the purpose of entering the river on behalf of Ducharme or somebody else.

He answered that he knew absolutely nothing; that on the contrary the aforesaid Ducharme persuaded him that it was for the Mississippi.

Being asked how this change of course occurred, since they had left with the intention of following the coast shore of the Mississippi.

He answered that having left the aforesaid Kaos in the belief of ascending the Mississippi, they really sailed on it until they entered the mouth of the Missouri River, that they camped on the English shore until about eleven o'clock at night or till midnight. . . . that at this hour the aforesaid Ducharme awakened them, and made them rise, notifying

them to embark. Considering the inconvenient time, they asked him where he wanted to go. He answered that he desired to cross over to the other side in order to move in the night time, and that the sailing was good and easy on it; they obeyed his orders; they crossed to the Spanish shore a little above the mouth of the Missouri. Having arrived there, he had his canoes go down as far as the aforesaid mouth where he entered it. The witness, together with those named Belhumer and Pedro Bisonet who numbered among his sailors, noticing that instead of following the route that he had proposed to them he was taking them in the opposite direction, towards the Missouri, stated to the aforesaid Ducharme that those were not his intentions; that he was making bad use of his good faith; that they could not follow him any farther because, since that side belonged to Spain, the English traders did not have any right to enter it, and that by doing so, they would get into trouble if they were surprised. The aforesaid Ducharme answered him, that he knew where he was going; that he had nothing to fear; that since they had been paid they were not to interfere with anything; that they could follow him.

Being asked why the aforesaid Ducharme chose such an unlawful (indevida) hour of the night, and did not wait till day time to enter into the aforesaid river.

He answered that he does not know the reason for this that undoubtedly he was afraid.

Being asked what he thinks he could have had to fear.

He answered that undoubtedly he feared that he would be persecuted by the subjects of the Spanish district.

Being asked if, because he presumes that the aforesaid Ducharme proceeded thus in the night time for fear of something, he believes that it was an offense to enter the mentioned river.

He answered yes, and that for this reason they told him that they wished to leave him.

Being asked why they did not abandon him and object to his wishes, since they knew that it was an offense and since they formed such a considerable number against only one.

He answered that he, the witness, and the two Engages mentioned above were the only ones to object to his plans; that the rest of them, because they were completely subordinated by him and to his side, did not contradict him, saying that it was immaterial to them to be taken wherever he deemed suitable. Having again reminded him that they were running a risk and that they feared bad treatment from the Indians, the aforesaid Ducharme answered that they should not fear the Indians, (and) that as for the rest if there was anything to fear, he was the only one responsible for it; that if there was any punishment to suffer it would be inflicted only upon him; that they should know that the risks were always for the master, and that they should remember that in an almost similar case only he was punished and mortified and that nothing happened to his sailors; that afterward they would be able to embark. The witness having added that he could not make up his mind to that, the aforesaid Ducharme forced him with threats, and he was compelled to obey him, being without a boat or any other means.

Being asked what was that case and where it happened to him.

He answered that he heard that he had been in prison in Montreal because he had violated the order or permission which he had by going to Michilimaquina, and that besides his bundles of furs were confiscated.*

Being asked if he knows that at the entrance to the Missouri there is a fort with a Spanish garrison.

He answered that he knows it and that he has also seen it.

Being asked if on the way he, or some of the rest of the sailors or Ducharme himself was in the fort mentioned above.

He answered no.

Being asked whether he knew that, besides the fact that no foreigner can enter the mentioned river, there might have been (an ordinance) prohibiting trade with the tribes that live on it; whether Ducharme himself knew this, or whether he had heard say that it was so, whether he knew of the punish-

*Concerning the imprisonment of Ducharme, see the article which precedes the translations of these documents.

ment inflicted upon violators of the aforesaid ordinance (defensa), which extends not only to the foreigners but also to those of this district who can not go up (the river) without a special permission from the *Comandante*.

He answered that he is unaware of all this but that nocturnal measures (*las providencias nocturnas sic*) which he used, made him think that he had no right to go there.

Being asked in what kind of a boat they had gone up the river and in how many boats.

He answered that they went up in two canoes.

Being asked to which tribe of the Missouri River had they gone to trade with, and how long they had been with them.

He answered that they had gone to the first tribe that they called Little Osages; that they had been among them about four months.

Being asked if they dealt with or traded with other tribes, and with what sort of merchandise.

He answered that they had not been in any other place but among the aforesaid tribe of the Little Osages; that they even established their residence amongst a band which was much further below another band which was above; that the latter having learned of his arrival from the other tribe came to beg of Ducharme that he grant them a Frenchman (*un Frances*) with merchandise, weeping and setting forth that it (tribe) was worthy of sympathy. Ducharme refused to do it in the fear that it (tribe) would commit some violence both on his person and on his goods. The following day the one called Lacorne, chief of the aforesaid upper band, again made the same petition threatening that if he insisted in not sending them a trader his people would strip him of his goods; that his soldiers were angry; that he should take pity on them; that he should give them a little powder in order to obtain food (*que les diese un poco de polbera para beber caldo*). Finally the aforesaid Ducharme allowed himself to be persuaded and sent the one called Pedro Bissonet with a barrel and a half of gunpowder and other goods for trade. He heard Bissonet himself say that they had come to the band or group in which the Missouri (Indians) were; that they also traded in it and with four or five Big Osages, of the band in which the

declarant was; who also traded in it. The merchandise which he had consisted of gunpowder, guns, bullets, knives, cloth, blankets and other goods appropriate for the use of the savages.

Being asked if when they reached the aforesaid tribes the aforesaid Ducharme gave the tribe to understand from which district he was going to bring them supplies: (was it) either from the district and with the consent of the Spanish Father or from the District of the English Father.

He answered that the tribe, having asked this question of him (Ducharme) the aforesaid Ducharme answered that he came from the "Cold Country" (*pais Frio*) and that he had not seen the Spanish Father, (according to what he, the declarant, heard him say).

Being asked what has become of the rest of his Engage Companions.

He answered that all of them having surrendered to the orders of the aforesaid Mr. Laclede, they had been taken together with him as far as this post where they are now.

Being asked how they were caught, and the reason why Ducharme who was with them was not caught.

He answered that the aforesaid Mr. Laclede, having promised the Engages only complete grace on the part of the King, they had decided to surrender without making use of any resistance; but that Ducharme not being comprised among this number, and considering himself abandoned, took the decision to retire into the woods (*en el Monte*).

Being asked whether it is an opinion of the witness or whether Ducharme was persuaded that the promised grace belonged only to the sailors, and that whether he knows that the latter has been the reason for his evasion and his abandonment of his own property.

He answered that it is the opinion of the witness that he saw him always determined not to surrender himself, and that considering himself in all likelihood guilty, that he thinks that this is the reason that makes him flee and abandon his goods in order to save himself.

Being asked if when he fled he told him where he was going.

He answered that he did not and that he does not know where he went.

Being asked if Ducharme, realizing that the grace was announced and that his Engages were determined to surrender themselves, persuaded them not to believe anything; and that if he induced them to defend themselves or make any resistance, or whether they shot upon the detachment that suggested that he surrender.

He answered that the aforementioned Ducharme tried to persuade them not to listen to those words, and not to believe them; that they should defend themselves; that the witness, having declared to him that he would not make any sort of opposition and that he trusted the promise of the King; that he had deceived them but that he was deceived himself also; that the mentioned Ducharme stated to him that if he did not wish to resist personally at least he should not give this speech before the others; and that he does not know whether he shot upon the already mentioned detachment.

Being asked if he knows that Ducharme had been warned about the detachment that was heading towards him, whether or not he suspected it or feared that he might have been seen while going out.

He answered that he does not know whether or not he had any warning, neither does he suspect that he spoke to any of those among them; but that which proves that he was active is the fact that the evening they left their winter camp he told them that he would stop en el parage de los sius (Portage des Sioux) some five leagues north on the Missouri River in order to transport by land his goods to (cross) the Mississippi and avoid by means of this conduct any sudden surprise attack.

Being asked whether he knows of any other English trader actually being or having been among any tribe on the Missouri.

He answered that he has neither seen nor heard speak of any.

Being asked whether he knows or whether he has heard that the mentioned Ducharme would return to trade with the

same tribe or with any other tribe of the Spanish District or whether he had promised it.

He answered that it seemed to him that he heard that he might return to it but that he cannot assure this.

Being asked, after the reading of all that which precedes was finished, whether he had anything to add or subtract and whether this is the declaration which he had intended to give.

He answered that he has nothing to add or augment; that he understood well; that this declaration is the same that he had intended to give according to the absolute truth; that he persists in it under the oath that he made and that he attests it with a sign because of his inability to sign his own name. Questioned on this and summoned according to the law in the presence of the aforesaid witnesses who signed with me on the very same day, year and place as (the one indicated) above.....there is a cross, the sign of Juan Baptista Bernard, St. Ange-Antonio De Oró—De Volsey, Picote Beletre—B. Martigny—Perrault—J. M. Papin—Pedro Piernas.

Joseph Baudouin's Declaration: The sixteenth of the aforementioned month and year indicated above, in the presence of the witnesses already mentioned, and after having had them raise their right hands he was asked this question: "Do you swear by God, and do you promise the King to say the truth about the matter on which I am going to question you?"

He answered I swear to it and I promise it.

Being asked what is his name and what religion he professes, how old he is, and from what country.

He answered that his name is Joseph Budouin, that he professes the Apostolic Roman Catholic Religion, that he is nineteen years old, that he is from Prado La Magdalena, a district of the Province of Montreal in Canada.

Being asked if he knows who conducted him to this post and why.

He answered that he was conducted to it by Mr. Laclede, commander of a detachment of Volunteer Soldiers, after he had taken him prisoner; and that he heard and believes that this was because he had entered the Missouri River with the aforesaid Ducharme against all rights.

Being asked who is this aforesaid Ducharme, where he is from, what is his profession, where does he ordinarily reside and at what distance from the mouth of the aforesaid Missouri River he had been arrested.

He answered that the aforesaid Ducharme is a trader from the English District; that he is from La Chine, three leagues from the aforesaid Montreal; that he resides there ordinarily; that recently he came to the Village of Okaos, on the English side, in order to trade there, from there he went out again in order to go and to trade with the savage tribes; that he was arrested on the aforesaid Missouri River some twenty or twenty-five leagues, more or less, above its mouth.

Being asked why he had entered this river with the aforesaid Ducharme and if he was alone with him.

He answered that he had entered it as an Engage of the aforesaid Ducharme, in order to serve him and follow him wherever it suited him; and that there were twelve other Engages.

Being asked where he entered his service, who induced him to enter it and at what price.

He answered that he entered his service in La Chine, near Montreal; that he was induced to do it by Ducharme himself and at the price of two hundred pounds in money and some indispensable clothing.

Being asked if when he was pledged he was informed either by Ducharme or by anybody else that it was with the purpose of entering the Missouri River.

He answered that he did not know this at all, that he was pledged without any particular condition but only to help him in this capacity (as an Engage), without any distinction or explanation of the place.

Being asked if, after they had left the place where he had been hired, they had entered the aforesaid Missouri River or if they had first been in any other place.

He answered that they came directly to the town of the Okaos in the English district where they spent a month, more or less.

Being asked from whence they had left in order to enter the aforesaid river and if, while leaving, or on the way, whether Ducharme or any of his Engages told him that this was for the purpose of entering it.

He answered that they departed from the aforesaid town of Okaos: that he was entirely unaware that he (Ducharme) might have had the intentions of taking them to it until they had entered the aforesaid (River).

Being asked if he knew that this river belonged to Spain and because it belongs to her no foreigner had the right to enter it.

He answered that he heard that it belongs to Spain and that he thinks that he had no right to enter it without permission.

Being asked if they entered during the day or during the night and at what hour.

He answered that they entered it during the nighttime, a few hours before daybreak.

Being asked why they entered during the nighttime rather than during the daytime, and if he knew the reason.

He answered that he thinks that this was done that they might not be discovered.

Being asked if he knows whether there is a Spanish fort situated at the mouth of the aforesaid river, and if they were seen by the garrison stationed there.

He answered that he saw there a settlement, that he does not know whether any of those in the garrison had noticed them.

Being asked whether knowing that he could not enter it secretly, they all agreed together, or whether Ducharme suggested it to them (of his own accord) or whether there were any opponents to his intentions.

He answered that the day before, having camped on the English side of the Mississippi above a place just opposite the aforesaid fort, he awakened them very early telling them that they should embark because he wanted to go across since the sailing was good on the other side. They readily executed his orders and crossed to the shore opposite to a crossing point (*Batura*) a short distance above the entrance

of the aforementioned river. After being (reaching) there he notified his Engages that he had decided to enter the Missouri; that it was necessary to do so. On hearing this speech all the Engages make him understand that such were not their agreements, that he knew that one was prohibited from entering it, and that if they captured them they would be punished. Ducharme answered them that he knew what they feared; that if some evil turned out from that they would not blame them for it, but only him; since they were his sailors they were obliged to follow his merchandise to where they could get a higher interest and that if they refused to do so they did not have to expect any salary from him. On account of this all of them decided to accompany him and do his will.

Being asked in what kind of a boat did they go up the river and in how many boats.

He answered that they went up in two canoes.

Being asked that if, besides (the fact) that no foreigner is allowed to enter it, he knows that the actual Commander of this post has published any special ordinance for this particular object.

He answered that he had heard that there was an ordinance.

Being asked to what tribe of the Missouri they went to engage in trade and how long they were there (in the tribe).

He answered that they have been in the tribe of Little Osages and that they spent there about three and a quarter or three and a half months.

Being asked what sort of merchandise they carried and whether they traded with other tribes.

He answered that his merchandise consisted of guns, knives, gunpowder, bullets, blankets, cloths and other goods proper for the use of the Indians; that after having arrived at the mentioned tribe of Little Osages they never went away from it. Because this tribe is divided into two Bands, one above the other along the banks of the aforesaid river, he sent one of his men named Pedro Bissonet in order to take merchandise to the band on the upper part, he himself having established his dwelling in the lower Band. Although he

made this expedition against his will and at the request of the Indians from the band on the upper part of the river who came to implore him in order to obtain a trader saying that they were worthy of pity, a thing which he heard the aforesaid Ducharme say and which he cannot ascertain because he does not understand the language of these Barbarians. In the length of time that they spent there he saw bands of Great Osages and Missouris coming to trade.

Being asked if when they arrived at the aforesaid tribe the aforesaid Ducharme made them understand from what district he was going to bring them (the tribes) their necessary things; whether it was from the district and with the consent of the Spanish Chief or from the district of the English Chief.

He answered that he knows that after arriving at the aforesaid tribe he spoke to the latter in this way: (que habia urtadoel rio), which means among Indians that he went against and in spite of the prohibition of the Spanish Chief; that his Spanish Father was angry, that knowing that it (the tribe) was worthy of pity he had come to provide it with their needs; that without that it would be much worse and that he would be in a greater danger so far as his enemies were concerned since he brought them guns, bullets, and gunpowder in order to live and defend itself.

Being asked what has become of the rest of his companions, the sailors.

He answered that after having surrendered to the discretion of the aforesaid Mr. Laclede they had been conducted by him to this post where they are now.

Being asked how they were captured and why was it that Ducharme, who was with them, was not also captured.

He answered that since the aforesaid Mr. Laclede had promised them grace or pardon from the King if they surrendered to him without any resistance, they decided to submit themselves to this and executed this without presenting any resistance; that the aforesaid Ducharme having noticed and said in the Camp that the matter of grace did not concern him but only the Engages, because if they came to seize him they would take him as an example, (therefore) he de-

cided to flee when he saw that his sailors abandoned him by surrendering.

Being asked if Ducharme, when he was notified of the grace, tried to induce them not to believe anything and rather than surrender, on the contrary, defend themselves; if Ducharme alone and any other of his sailors formed any opposition and if he shot on the detachment that suggested that he surrender.

He answered that the aforesaid Ducharme tried to persuade them not to listen to these words, because they were not telling them the truth, because they were trying to surprise them, and that if they happened to fall into the hands of their enemies they would be punished like he would be. None of the Engages formed a defense; Ducharme alone was opposed to it and fired a single gun shot upon the aforementioned Detachment.

Being asked if when he fled he told him or any other (anybody else) where he was going,

He answered that he is entirely unaware as to where he went.

Being asked whether he knows that Ducharme might have been warned about the Detachment that was going against him; whether he suspected that some (detachment) was being sent against him or whether he feared that they might observe his flight.

He answered that he did not have any warning but that he suspected that they would lie in ambush coming out at the mouth of the river and that in order to avoid this happening they had decided and taken measures to stop at the place called Portage des Sioux about five leagues up the aforesaid river from its mouth in order to transport by land his goods to the shores of the Mississippi.

Being asked whether he knows or heard that the aforesaid Ducharme had promised or had intended to return to trade with the same tribe or with some other tribe of the Spanish district,

He answered that he said that he would return to it, but that this was only to avoid their impertinences and troubles without intending to return again.

Being asked, after having read to him all that which precedes whether he has anything to add to or subtract from it, whether this is the declaration which he intended to make and whether he has understood it well, whether he heard that Ducharme had committed previously any similar action and whether any consequences resulted from it,

He answered that he had heard that he had committed before a more or less similar action violating the orders of his Superiors, and that for that reason he had been arrested and put in prison at Montreal; that he has nothing to subtract from, nor to add to, the declaration that he has just made, that he understood it well, that it is according to the truth and is the one that he had intended to give, that he insists upon it under the oath he made and attests it with a sign because of his inability to sign his name. Questioned on this and summoned according to the Law in the presence of the aforesaid witnesses who signed with me at the same place, day and year indicated above—there is a cross as the sign of Joseph Baudouin St. Ange—Antonio de Oro—De Volsey—Picote Beletre—B. Martiny—Perrault—J. M. Papin—Pedro Piernas.

Pablo Campau's Declaration: The seventeenth day of the same month and year as the one above, in the presence of the witnesses already named, I had appear before me another of the sailors of Ducharme, and after having him raise his hand I asked him this question:

Do you swear by God and promise the King to say the truth on the matter on which I am going to question you?

He answered I swear to it and promise it.

Being asked his name, his native land, his age, his profession and religion.

He answered that his name is Pedro Campau, native of Quebec, Capital city of Canada, that he is twenty-one years old and that he is an Apostolic Roman Catholic.

Being asked whether he knows who conducted him to this post and why,

He answered that he was conducted here by Mr. Laclede, Commander of a Detachment of Volunteer Soldiers, after he

had been taken prisoner by him, and that the latter happened because he had gone to trade on the Missouri River against all law with the one named Juan Maria Ducharme.

Being asked who Ducharme is, where he is from, what is his occupation, where does he live and how far from the mouth of the Missouri River he was arrested.

He answered that Ducharme was a trader from the English District, a native of the place called La Chine near Montreal and a resident there, that he was some time ago at the Post of Okaos in the mentioned English district for business (trade), from whence he had left to go in trade with the Savage tribes, and that he was arrested some twenty-five leagues above the referred to mouth (*embocadura*) opposite the *Isla del Buy*.

Being asked with what purpose he entered this river with the aforesaid Ducharme and if he was alone with him.

He answered that he had entered it in the capacity of an Oarsman of the aforesaid Ducharme, to accompany him wherever it suited him, and that all those in his service numbered thirteen.

Being asked where he was hired, who induced him to do so and at what price.

He answered that he had been hired at Montreal at the request of Ducharme himself at a price of a hundred "escudos" in cash.

Being asked if when he was hired he was informed, either by Ducharme or by anybody else, that this was for the purpose of entering the Missouri River.

He answered that, regarding that, he did not have any information, hence he entered his service; that he was compelled to follow his merchandise without any distinction or explanation as to the place.

Being asked if, after leaving the place where he was hired, he entered directly the Missouri River mentioned above, or where they had crossed to or had been before.

He answered that they came directly from the town of Okaos mentioned above, where they spent a little more or a little less than a month and a half.

Being asked where they started from in order to enter the aforesaid Missouri River and whether Ducharme communicated to him or he learned about it through anyone else.

He answered that they left from the aforesaid town of Kaos; that he was absolutely ignorant that Ducharme had the intentions of entering the aforesaid river until the moment they entered it.

Being asked whether he knew that this river belonged to Spain and that since it belonged to her no foreigner had the right to enter it.

He answered that he had heard so.

Being asked whether they entered it during the night or during the daytime and at what hour.

He answered that they entered it during the night about midnight.

Being asked why they entered at night rather than during the day or whether he knows the reason.

He answered that this was in order not to be discovered by the garrison of a Spanish fort that is situated at the mouth of the mentioned river.

Being asked whether it was Ducharme who proposed to them to choose that hour in order to enter it, or if all agreed by common consent and disposition (previous arrangement).

He answered that, having camped along the English shore a little above and in view of the mouth of the aforesaid river, the aforementioned Ducharme told them that night to go to bed early for he wanted to set out very early the following morning in order to cross over to the other side. In fact he made them get up during the nighttime, embark in his boats and cross to the opposite shore a little farther above the aforementioned mouth from where he had them come down in order to go across, without his (the witness) knowing that any rower had a part in this act neither by consent nor by advice; that on the contrary, when they had entered it (the river) he was reminded by his employees that he did not have any right to enter there; that he was exposing them to danger. The aforesaid Ducharme always insisted upon entering the said river telling them not to fear anything, that if some fatal accident should happen it would

only concern him and by no means them; that they were obliged to follow their merchandise for it was necessary to do so. He even added threats, especially upon Bissonet, telling him that if he objected he would tie him up. Seeing his obstinacy, his superiority over them and their helplessness, they yielded in fear and under pressure of his will and continued their journey on the aforesaid Missouri River.

Being asked whether the garrison of the said Spanish fort noticed them, in what sort of boats and in how many (boats) they went up, and whether he knows besides the fact that no foreigner has the right to enter the said river that the actual *comandante* of this Post might have made any particular ordinance for some reason of his own, even against the Vassals of his Catholic Majesty,

He answered that he does not know whether they were discovered in their penetration into the country by the mentioned Garrison; that they went up in two canoes; that he heard it said when they arrived at the aforesaid Kaos that the aforesaid Commander had closed the very river itself; a fact which meant that he had prohibited the entrance into the river.

Being asked to what tribe on the Missouri they went and whether they remained in it long.

He answered that they went to the tribe called Little Osages and that they spent there about four and a half months, more or less.

Being asked what kinds of merchandise they brought, whether they traded with any tribe other than the one already mentioned; and how the aforesaid Ducharme announced himself upon his arrival, if he made it known that he came in behalf of and with the consent of the Spanish Chief or in behalf of the English Chief.

He answered that the merchandise consisted of guns, gunpowder, bullets, knives, axes, cloths, blankets and other things proper for the Indians' use; that they did not go to any other part but the mentioned tribe; that since this said tribe, being divided into two bands—the one above the other on the shore of the mentioned river—the aforesaid Ducharme, spending the winter in the lower band, sent the

one called Pedro Bissonet with two other men to the upper band in order to trade with it (the tribe) with the aforementioned merchandise at the request and petition of the upper band itself. During the time they remained there he saw the Big Osages and the Missouris coming to trade; that not having attended the councils that the aforesaid Ducharme might have had with the savages he can not say nor has he heard said in what way it was announced to them, since he does not understand their language and since the aforesaid Ducharme did not say anything about this in his presence.

Being asked about what the other sailors, his companions, did; how they were caught and why was it that Ducharme who was with them was not also caught.

He answered that after having surrendered to the discretion of the said Mr. Laclede, they were conducted to this Post where they are now; that after the said Mr. Laclede had suggested that they surrender to him in behalf of the king with the promise of granting them their pardon if they did not defend themselves, they decided to surrender to him without any resistance. The aforesaid Ducharme, not wishing to follow this example and noticing that he had been abandoned by his men fled into the woods (*en el Monte*).

Being asked whether Ducharme, when the pardon was announced to them tried to persuade them not to believe it and, on the contrary, far from surrendering, to defend themselves, and whether he made any resistance like his sailors; whether he himself and some of them fired on the detachment that suggested to him that he surrender,

He answered that the aforesaid Ducharme tried to persuade them not to pay any attention to those words, for they sought to deceive them; that if they allowed themselves to be caught they would be punished; that on the contrary it was necessary to defend themselves until death; that consequently he asked them whether they had any gunpowder and he declared to them that he would shoot the first one who did not defend himself; that he fired a shot at the aforementioned Detachment, but that none of the Sailors (*remeros*) took up arms nor made any sign of resistance; that on the contrary they always were inclined to surrender themselves

as they did afterwards, because by defending themselves and by becoming prisoners they saw their evident ruination and, on the contrary, they saw their (safety) because forgiveness was promised them.

Being asked if when he fled he told them or anyone else where he was going, if he was warned about the detachment that was going against him, if he suspected it or if he was afraid that they would lie in ambush while he was trying to get out.

He answered that he does not know where the aforesaid Ducharme went to; he heard Ducharme himself say that the Big Osages had warned him that they were to watch for his return; that consequently in order to avoid a surprise upon him he had decided to separate himself from them at the place called the Portage de Sioux which is five or six leagues, more or less, above the mouth and within the Missouri River in order to transport by land his merchandise as well as his boats to the shore of the Mississippi.

Being asked whether he knows that some other trader from the English Side is at present or has been before on the Missouri River, or whether he had heard tell of it.

He answered that he does not know there is or whether there has ever been any.

Being asked if he knows or heard it said that he had promised or intended to return to trade with the same tribe or with other tribes of the Missouri.

He answered that he had really promised to return to the same tribe, but that he thinks that this was with no other purpose than to smooth down all difficulties and prevent anything that might not please them.

Being asked if he knows whether the aforesaid Ducharme has been in jail; and if he has been there what was the reason.

He answered that he had heard (Ducharme) himself say that he had been held in prison in Montreal; but that he never informed himself about nor learned the reason for it.

Being asked, after all that which precedes had been read to him, whether he had anything to add to or subtract from it, whether this is the declaration that he intended to make and whether he understood it well.

He answered that he understood well the present declaration which agrees with the truth and is like the one he had intended to give; that he has nothing to add or subtract; that he insists on it under the oath he made, that he attests it with a sign because of his inability to sign his name. Questioned about this and summoned according to Law in the presence of the same witnesses mentioned above who have signed with me the same day and year as indicated above—there is a cross as the sign for Pablo Campau—St. Ange—Antonio de Oro—De Volsey—Picote Beletre—B. Martiny—Perrault—J. M. Papin—Pedro Piernas.

The declarations which precede are copies conforming to the original ones which are in my hands and which I certify.

St. Louis, Illinois, April 11, 1773—

Pedro Piernas (rubricado)

(*To be continued.*)

MISSOURI POLITICS DURING THE CIVIL WAR

BY SCEVA BRIGHT LAUGHLIN

CHAPTER IV THE STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION (Concluded)

ELECTION OF SUPREME COURT JUDGES, NOVEMBER 3, 1863

The contest over the election of Supreme Court judges November 3, 1863, was bitterly fought. The Radicals, as was mentioned above, nominated Henry A. Clover, Arnold Krekel and David Wagner. The Conservatives held no convention but supported the men then in that office, Barton Bates, a son of Edward Bates, William V. N. Bay and John D. S. Dryden.³³ The Radicals were trying, apparently, to elect judges who would declare that Gamble was not governor but a usurper.³⁴ The *Neue Zeit* asserted: "the Supreme Court is not only authorized, but compelled, if so required, to investigate the validity of Governor Gamble's claim on the governorship, or the legality of any law, whether called an ordinance or anything else." The above statement was first quoted in the *Anzeiger* and then re-quoted by the *Republican* of November 1, 1863, which added, "Here we have finally an open and plain confession regarding the plan of operation of the Radicals" to oust Gamble.

The vote was so close that the result was in doubt for some days. It appeared at first that the Radicals had won. The German Radical papers were jubilant and the *Neue Zeit* said: "St. Louis has repudiated Lincoln as well as Gamble. Now at least, there can be no doubt as to the significance of our Radical election victory. It was achieved in defiance of

³³Switzler, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

³⁴Canton Press, November 12, 1863.

Mr. Lincoln and his Administration, as well as of the Copperheads, and Mr. Lincoln has thus been thrown amongst the rusty old iron where he belongs."⁸⁵ This jubilation was suddenly cut short when the final returns showed that the Conservatives had won by a majority of about 700 in a total vote of over 93,000.⁸⁶

TWENTY-SECOND GENERAL ASSEMBLY, ADJOURNED SESSION,
NOVEMBER 10, 1863, TO FEBRUARY 16, 1864

In his message to the adjourned session of the twenty-second General Assembly, Governor Gamble considered the emancipation question settled. As a consequence of the emancipation of the slaves he expected a shortage of labor which he would provide against by recommending the official appointment of agents to visit Europe and solicit immigrants, especially in Germany.⁸⁷

One of the important acts of this session was the election of two United States senators. It will be remembered that thirty ballots had been taken without result at the previous session. On the thirty-second ballot, counting the thirty mentioned, B. Gratz Brown was elected for the term expiring March 4, 1867. On the next ballot John B. Henderson was elected for the term expiring March 4, 1869.⁸⁸ Henderson was a Conservative and Brown was a Radical.

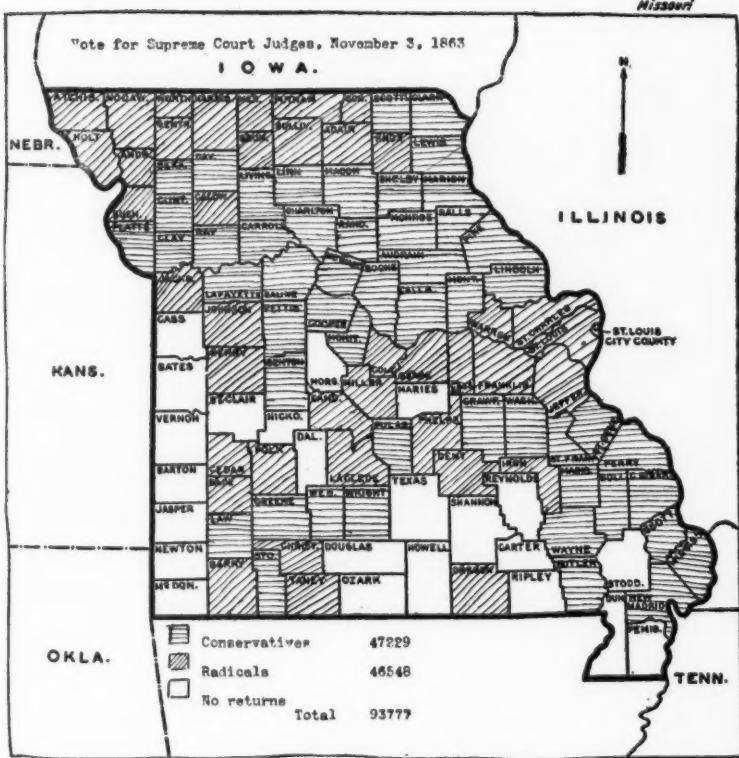
There was both a national and a military phase of this election which must be considered. General Schofield was accused by the Radicals of being opposed to the election of Brown. Lincoln's intimate friend E. B. Washburne of Illinois had so reported Schofield's position to him. As a matter of fact Schofield had said that he did not believe the

⁸⁵*Missouri Republican*, November 5, 1863.

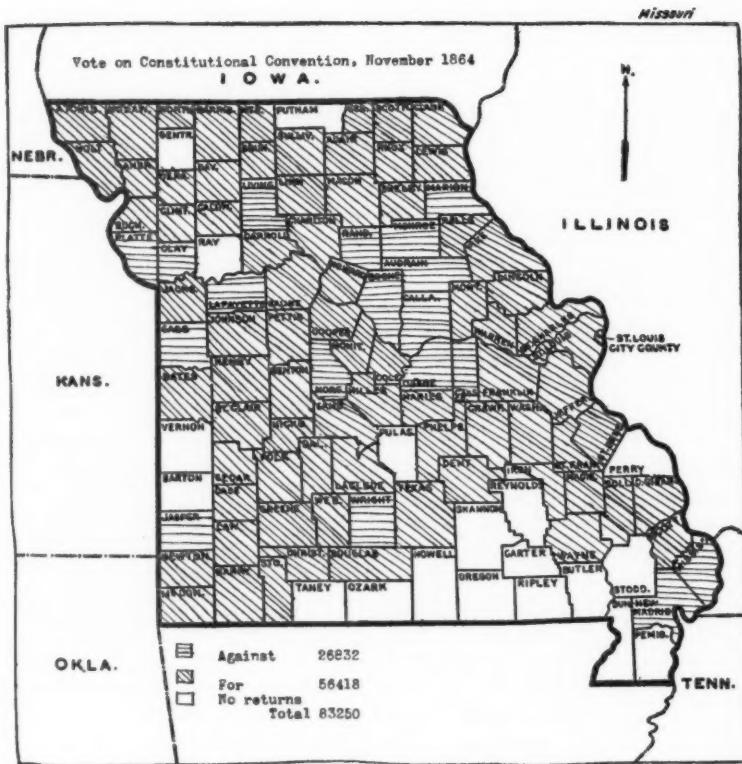
⁸⁶Switzler, *op. cit.*, p. 450. "About 700 votes! That is all Abraham Lincoln 'By the anger of God,' as the *Kirchen Zeitung* calls him and all his myrmidons, in Post Offices and other places, together with all traitorous copperheads, have only been able to defeat us Radicals of Missouri by a few hundred votes. We Radicals of Missouri have reason enough to carry our heads high, for Abraham 'By the anger of God,' will nevertheless be finally compelled to bow down before us." *Westliche Post*, quoted in *Missouri Republican*, January 8, 1864.

⁸⁷*Journal, Missouri Senate, Adjourned Session, 22nd General Assembly*, pp. 6-12.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.



Vote for Supreme Court Judges, 1863



two conflicting elements could be so harmonized as to elect a senator representing each faction, a solution which Washburne had suggested. As a result of this misunderstanding Lincoln wrote Secretary Stanton, December 18, 1863, that Schofield must be relieved of his command of the Department of Missouri or otherwise a question of veracity would be raised which ought to be avoided. The solution of the problem as suggested by Lincoln and finally carried through was the appointment of Schofield as a major-general and his transfer to another field. He understood that both Henderson and Brown would favor this plan and their working together on it might help in another way to heal the Missouri trouble. Lincoln then appointed General W. S. Rosecrans as Schofield's successor, who was reasonably satisfactory to both sides.⁸⁹

Governor Gamble died January 31, 1864, and Lieutenant-Governor Willard P. Hall succeeded him. Through the death of Gamble "the Conservative party lost its most conspicuous leader, and from that time forward rapidly declined in prestige and numerical strength."⁹⁰

A very important act of this session was the passage of an ordinance, approved February 13, 1864, providing for a new state convention. The election for this convention should be held in November, 1864. The qualified voters should be permitted to vote "for a State Convention" or "against a State Convention." Delegates to the convention should also be elected at the same time. If the majority of the voters favored the convention, the delegates should assemble in St. Louis on January 6, 1865, and "proceed to consider, first, such amendments to the Constitution of the State as may be by them deemed necessary for the emancipation of slaves; second, such amendments to the constitution of the

⁸⁹Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln A. Hist.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 472-475. There was strong opposition to Schofield's confirmation. The Washington correspondent of the *St. Louis Democrat* wrote his paper: "The Administration seems to hang on to Schofield with an infatuation which is as singular as it is obnoxious to the loyal people of the land. This question of the tyranny practiced by the Gamble-Schofield dynasty in Missouri, and its toleration by the National Administration, has been lifted from the local arena of Missouri politics, and made a national issue." Quoted in *The Daily Constitution*, Keokuk, Iowa, December 31, 1863.

⁹⁰Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln A. Hist.*, Vol. VIII, p. 470.

State as may be by them deemed necessary to preserve in purity the elective franchise to loyal citizens, and such other amendments as may be by them deemed essential to the promotion of the public good."⁹¹

THE NOVEMBER ELECTION, 1864

At the November election in 1864 the people were called upon to vote for the usual number of state and national candidates. They were also to vote for or against a new state convention and for delegates to the same.

Fremont's boom for the presidency got under way quite early, too early in the opinion of the *St. Charles Demokrat* of March 10, 1864, that is, it suffered the fate of many early booms in reaching its climax and spending its force too long before election time. While Fremont was the first choice of this paper it was willing to support either Benjamin F. Butler or Salmon P. Chase.

Early in January, the *Anzeiger* was losing hope of defeating Lincoln. Wendell Phillips, in its opinion the real leader of the Radicals, had eliminated Chase and was favoring Fremont. Most of the German Radicals were also favoring him but many others were thinking more of a well regulated retreat than of an energetic advance in favor of "Fremont and Jessie."⁹²

The election of a Radical mayor of St. Louis in April, 1864, was claimed by the *Neue Zeit* as a victory for Fremont. In this election E. B. Thomas, the Radical candidate, defeated J. G. Woerner, the Conservative nominee by a vote of 6,477 to 3,873.⁹³

The *Westliche Post* stated quite positively that it would not support Lincoln under any circumstances. According

⁹¹*Journal, Missouri State Convention, 1865*, pp. 5-6.

⁹²Quoted in *Missouri Republican*, January 6, 1864. Jessie Fremont, a daughter worthy of her father, Thomas Hart Benton, will be remembered for her romantic elopement with John C. Fremont and her subsequent vigorous defense of her husband in his controversy with President Lincoln and the Blairs. The slogan mentioned above was used in the campaign of 1856.

⁹³*Missouri Republican*, April 6, 1864.

to this paper, Lincoln's removal of Fremont from his command in 1861 had saved a rebel army from annihilation.⁹⁴

The *Anseiger* was hoping for a Radical national convention which would nominate a Radical like Fremont, Chase or Butler. "But," it added, "the movement seems to meet with little favor. Even the *Missouri Democrat* has not yet had pity on it." The *Evening News*, St. Louis, was ready to support the candidate of the National Union Convention and considered Lincoln sufficiently radical.⁹⁵

On February 22, 1864, a national convention met at Louisville, Kentucky, known to the public press as the Louisville Freedom Convention. Its official name was the Slave-State Freedom Convention. The initial call for this meeting was signed by the Missouri Radicals. By a vote of 64 to 53 the convention refused to summon a Radical national convention. The *Neue Zeit* blamed Drake for this result as he was the only member of the Missouri delegation who, in the Missouri caucus, opposed such a convention. However, when Colonel James H. Moss of the same delegation proposed the convention on the floor, other Missourians failed to support him. The distribution of the Pomeroy circular, which favored Chase for president, also contributed to the same result.⁹⁶

Notwithstanding the failure of the Louisville convention to sponsor such a gathering, a Radical National or People's Convention met in Cleveland, May 31, 1864. The Missouri Radicals were represented but, mainly by Germans. John C. Fremont was nominated by acclamation. According to the *Republican* of June 3, "the Cleveland nomination

"Thus we suddenly see a new coalition of the Blair and Bates Conservatives, who have always blown the whistle of loyalty, with those Radical renegades who have now been converted to loyalty a la Lincoln. . . . We have at present nothing to do but to declare herewith once for all, that we, supported by honest conviction of all friends of freedom in our State, cannot support Mr. Lincoln's re-election under any circumstances whatever." Quoted in *Missouri Republican*, January 15, 1864.

⁹⁴Ibid., January 30, 1864.

⁹⁵*Westliche Post* and *Neue Zeit* quoted in *Daily Constitution*, Keokuk, Iowa, March 3, 1864. A report of the Louisville convention is in the *Am. Ann. Cyc.* 1864, pp. 450-451. Senator Pomeroy of Kansas was the chairman of a committee that issued a circular advocating Chase for the presidency and calling for a more vigorous prosecution of the war.

and platform seems to have produced the greatest enthusiasm amongst the German radicals." When Lincoln heard of Fremont's nomination he read to a caller a verse from the Bible, First Samuel 22:2, "and every one that was in distress and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and he became a captain over them; and there were with him about four hundred men."⁹⁷ Lincoln, however, was too shrewd a politician to take chances on the possible influence of Fremont's following and lent himself to a bargain by which Fremont was to withdraw from the race and Lincoln was to request Montgomery Blair's resignation from the cabinet. Fremont published his letter of withdrawal September 22 and Lincoln requested Blair's resignation the following day.⁹⁸ Blair promptly resigned and worked for Lincoln's election.

On May 18, 1864, a Republican Conservative convention met in St. Louis "pursuant to a call issued by F. P. Blair, Willard P. Hall, James S. Rollins, Wm. F. Switzler, Samuel T. Glover (acting with what is called the Unconditional Union party)." The convention elected delegates to the National Union Convention at Baltimore and declared for Lincoln. Thomas L. Price headed the delegation.⁹⁹

The Radical state convention met at Jefferson City, May 25, 1864. By a vote of 341 to 91 it decided to send a delegation to Baltimore. Drake was at the head of this delegation which was instructed for Ulysses S. Grant. The *Neue Zeit* claimed that Drake's vote represented the whole Know Nothing strength. Emile Preetorius, B. Gratz Brown and Henry T. Blow bolted the convention; they were too strongly opposed to the Lincoln administration.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷Oberholzer, Ellis Paxson, *Abraham Lincoln*, p. 313.

⁹⁸Rhodes, *History of United States*, Vol. IV, p. 52; Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln Complete Works*, Vol. II, p. 579, (text of letter to Blair); Arnold, Isaac N., *Life of Lincoln*, 3rd ed., pp. 390-391, "Fremont's friends made the removal or retirement of Montgomery Blair a condition of Fremont's declining the Cleveland nomination for the Presidency." At the request of the national committee Judge Ebenezer Peck of Illinois, a friend of the Blairs and of Lincoln, went to the President. He said to him: "Your re-election is necessary to save the Union, and no man must stand in the way of that success. Mr. Blair himself . . . will gladly retire to strengthen the ticket." Arnold says this was the personal statement of Peck to him.

⁹⁹*Missouri Republican*, May 19, 1864.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, May 26, 28, 1864.

The request for admission to the Baltimore convention by these rival delegations, officially referred to by the convention as the "Unconditional Union" delegation and the "Radical Union" delegation,¹⁰¹ raised the vital question of the party's attitude on the radical issues. The Missouri Radicals represented the rapidly developing radical sentiment of the nation. The Conservative delegation could not be admitted without offending that powerful element. The situation was well summed up in the *Republican*, June 9, 1864: "The Radicals were not mistaken in the notion that the admission or exclusion of these delegates would define the position of the Convention with reference to Radical policies. Mr. Curtis of New York stated the case in that body. He said: 'The Missouri question is one which must be met and settled, and nowhere can it be so well met and conclusively settled as in this National Convention of Union men. . . . As a practical contest, there is no man in this Convention who does not know that the admission of the radical delegation from Missouri is the practical settlement of this question, and the practical adhesion of the great national party of this country, to the policy and measures which will save the country'." The *Statesman* was surprised at the rejection of the Conservatives and believed the Radicals were surprised at being admitted. It also considered part of the platform objectionable.¹⁰² The *Republican* also objected to part of the platform and maintained that Lincoln could not accept the nomination and endorse the platform without self-stultification.¹⁰³

The two planks to which the Conservatives objected were the third and the sixth. The third maintained that slavery was the cause of the rebellion and that it must be extirpated and the constitution amended to that effect. The sixth said, "That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust

¹⁰¹Johnson, Charles W., *Proceedings, Rep. Nat. Conventions, 1850, 1860, 1864.*

¹⁰²*Missouri Statesman*, June 17, 1864.

¹⁰³*Missouri Republican*, June 21, 1864.

those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government." This clause was supposed to be aimed at Bates, Montgomery Blair and Seward. It was even alleged beforehand that the Missouri Radicals would go to Baltimore and demand as their support of Lincoln his dismissal of these three men from his cabinet.¹⁰⁴

When the roll was called for the vote on presidential nominations the Missouri delegation cast their twenty-two votes, as they were instructed, for "the head of the fighting radicals of the nation, Ulysses S. Grant." Before the final result was declared, they changed their vote from Grant to Lincoln and moved that the latter's nomination be made unanimous.¹⁰⁵

After their defeat at Baltimore the Missouri Conservatives took a prominent part in a "Democratic" state convention at St. Louis, June 15. This convention elected Delegates to the National Democratic convention to be convened at Chicago, August 29, 1864, and adjourned to meet in September.¹⁰⁶ Thomas L. Price, erstwhile chairman of the Conservative delegation at Baltimore, presided over the St. Louis gathering. In his opening address to the convention he said he observed many old and familiar faces of gentlemen whom he had long known, who had belonged to the Democratic and Whig organizations, but who now harmonized for the sake of liberty and Union. Robert Wilson, James H. Birch, James H. Moss, formerly well known Whigs, took prominent parts in this convention.¹⁰⁷

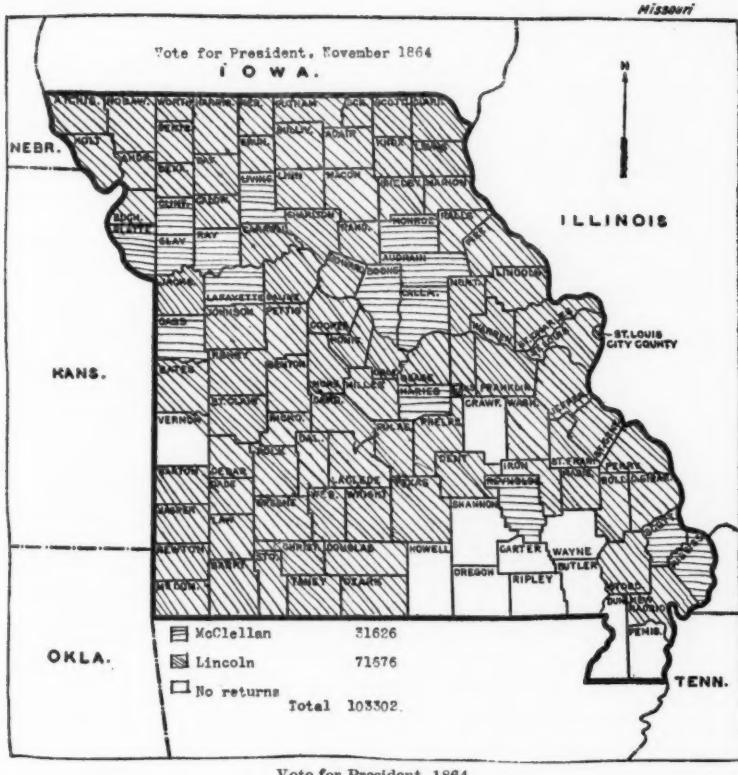
At the September convention Thomas L. Price was nominated by the Democrats for governor. Sample Orr, an old line Whig and candidate for governor in 1860 on the Constitutional Union ticket, was made an assistant elector at large. In their issues of September 16, 1864, two of the

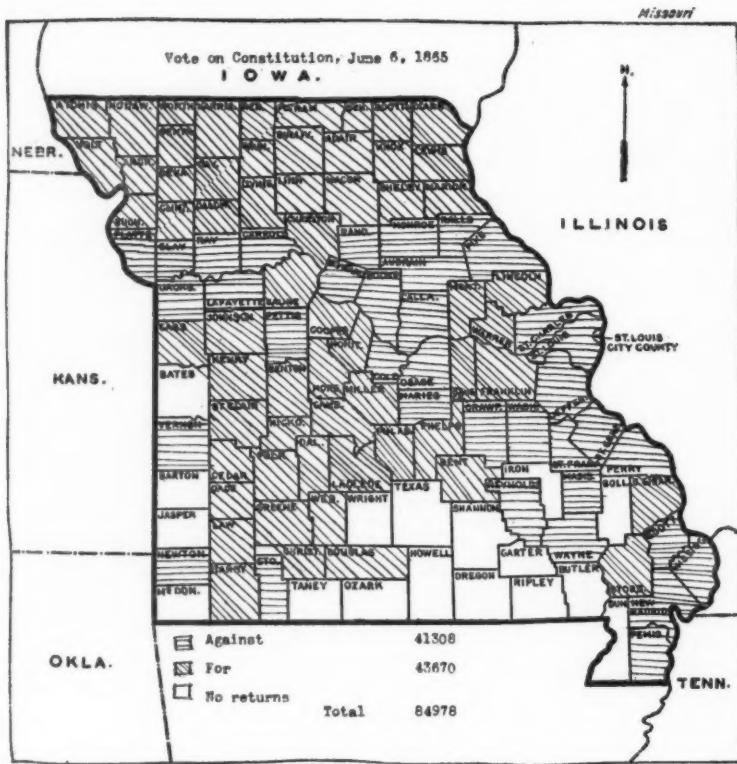
¹⁰⁴Glover to F. P. Blair, May 27, 1864, quoted in Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln A Hist.*, Vol. VIII, p. 477. Rhodes, *Hist. of U. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 528, says the sixth clause was aimed at Montgomery Blair.

¹⁰⁵Stevens, Walter B., "Lincoln and Missouri," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. X, pp. 110-111, January, 1916.

¹⁰⁶*Missouri Statesman*, June 24, 1864.

¹⁰⁷*Canton Press*, June 23, 1864.





influential old line Whig papers, the *Missouri Statesman* and the *Liberty Tribune*, came out for McClellan and Price. The *Missouri Democrat* once Benton's paper and later, Blair's, but which since 1861 had been quite radical, stood for Lincoln. Drake wrote Lincoln, June 22, that although he did not think the president had treated the Missouri Radicals as kindly as he might, still, all except the German Radicals would vote for him. He predicted that the Conservatives would vote for the Chicago nominee. After Fremont's withdrawal the German Radicals also supported Lincoln. The *Missouri Republican* supported McClellan.¹⁰⁸

The Radical state convention of May 25 nominated Thomas C. Fletcher for governor. According to Judge H. C. McDougal, this was the "first distinctively Republican State Convention ever held in Missouri."¹⁰⁹

The Radicals, or as they might now be called, the Republicans swept the state in November. Only one Democratic congressman was elected, a John Hogan, from the first district which comprised a part of St. Louis. In the fourth district, John Kelso an independent Radical was elected over S. H. Boyd, who had already served one term as a Radical. The Radicals also elected a large majority of both branches of the state legislature. There was a majority of 29,000 for the state convention and a great majority of the delegates elected were Radicals. McClellan received about 600 more votes than Price. Fletcher received about 2,000 more votes than Lincoln. The total vote for governor was 1,362 more than the total vote for president. The total vote for or against the convention was 20,000 less than the total for president. There were more counties that made no returns on the convention vote than on the presidential vote. The total congressional vote was 105,391; slightly greater than that for either president or governor. The Republican majority for governor was 42,000; for president, 40,000 and for congressman, 20,000. The counties which cast a majority

¹⁰⁸Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln A Hist.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 477-478; *Weekly Gate City*, Keokuk, August 17, 1864, quoting *St. Louis Zeitung* on German sentiment.

¹⁰⁹McDougal, H. C., "A Decade of Missouri Politics—1860 to 1870," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. III, pp. 141-142, January, 1900.

for McClellan and against the convention were almost identical. There were fifteen McClellan counties and eighteen against the convention. Ten of these were the same. The majorities for McClellan and against the convention were also from the counties where the Whigs and Americans were strong before the war.¹¹⁰

The *Republican* accused thousands of secessionists of voting for Lincoln and claimed that this result came from Price's raid.¹¹¹

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, JANUARY 6-APRIL 10, 1865

The members of the Missouri State Convention of 1865, generally called the constitutional or the emancipation convention, were for the most part comparatively unknown men. Only three had been elected to the original convention of 1861. These three were all from St. Louis. Two were native Prussians and one was a Kentuckian.¹¹²

The nativity of the 66 members was as follows: 22 from free states; 8 from German states; 1 from England; 9 from Missouri; and 26 from the other slave states. According to occupation there were 15 farmers, 14 physicians, 13 lawyers, and 12 merchants; the remainder were scattered, not over one to a separate calling or occupation.¹¹³ A comparison of the membership of the convention of 1861 with that of 1865 discloses the fact that in the former there was a high percentage of lawyers and natives of the slave states

¹¹⁰*Journal, Missouri State Senate, 24th General Assembly, regular session, Appendix*, pp. 825-827; Presidential and Congressional vote, 1864.

Ibid., 23rd General Assembly, regular session, Appendix, pp. 672-673, vote for governor, 1864; *Journal, Missouri State Convention, 1865*, p. 51, vote on convention.

¹¹¹"The counties most suspected of secession proclivities are those which have given Lincoln the heaviest majorities. Price's raid did the business for the Democracy, for it gave the Radicals a pretext for work which they would otherwise have been unable to do. Thousands of secessionists voted for Lincoln, either of choice or through cowardice. There may have been military intimidation in some quarters, but we have precious little sympathy to expend upon parties who give this as an excuse or explanation of conduct unbecoming, to say the least, to American citizens. We trust the secessionists who voted for Lincoln in preference to McClellan are satisfied with the result. So far as we are concerned, we, too, are satisfied." *Missouri Republican*, December 14, 1864.

¹¹²*Journal, Missouri State Convention, 1865*, pp. 3-4.

¹¹³*Ibid.*

while in the latter there were few lawyers, more natives of the free states and twice the number of foreign born. Whether the fine-spun theories about constitutional rights so prevalent in the first convention were due to its superabundance of lawyers and the more direct action methods of the second were due to their absence, will be left to the mental testers to determine.

Of greater significance, however, was the personnel of the officers of the new convention. The members met in St. Louis, January 6, 1865, and organized by electing as president, Arnold Krekel of St. Louis, a native of Prussia and editor of the *St. Charles Demokrat*. Charles D. Drake of St. Louis and a native of Ohio was elected vice-president. Amos P. Foster of Franklin county and a native of New Hampshire was elected secretary. The assistant secretary was a native of Ohio, the doorkeeper was born in Prussia and the sergeant-at-arms first saw the light in England.¹¹⁴ The old-time southern, pro-slavery group was certainly not in control.

On the fifth day of the session, January 11, an ordinance of immediate emancipation was passed by a vote of 60 to 4, two members being absent. The four were Samuel Gilbert of Platte, Thomas B. Harris of Callaway, William A. Morton of Clay, and William F. Switzler of Boone. Clay and Platte were in the same district as were also Boone and Callaway.¹¹⁵ These two districts were centers of Whig strength before the war. Switzler was editor of the *Missouri Statesman*, one of the leading Whig papers of the state. On January 12, a committee was appointed to inquire into the loyalty of members.¹¹⁶ Later, the committee reported that Thomas B. Harris was disloyal. He was expelled March 6 by a vote of 30 to 16.¹¹⁷

On January 16, by a vote of 52 to 5, the convention instructed the Missouri delegation in Congress to vote for the thirteenth amendment to the constitution then pending.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 30.

As the session progressed and the Radicals realized their power they decided to make an entirely new and complete constitution for the state. On February 15, Charles D. Drake moved that the convention proceed to make such a constitution. The motion carried 29 to 19.¹¹⁹

The constitution in its final form was adopted on the seventy-seventh day of the session, April 8, 1865, by a vote of 38 to 13. Eleven of the thirteen did not sign the document.¹²⁰ The most interesting and troublesome part of this constitution was the third section of the second article, which prescribed an iron-clad oath of loyalty for every voter and the ninth section of the same article which prescribed the same oath for lawyers, preachers and teachers. The substance of this oath, known as the "Oath of Loyalty," was to the effect that the person taking it had never "by act or word" manifested, his "adherence" to the cause of the enemies of the United States, or a "desire for their triumph," or "sympathy" for them. Furthermore, a pledge of loyalty to the constitution of the United States and of Missouri was also required.¹²¹

Provision was also made that the electoral franchise should be granted to foreigners who had declared their intention of becoming citizens of the United States. The section, "Education," was made much more specific than that of 1820 and gave rather full instructions for an elementary, intermediate and higher system of public instruction including the state university.¹²²

Restrictions of the suffrage, however, were so severe on rebels and copperheads that many enemies, even among Unionists, were raised up against the new constitution and another one was drawn up in 1875.

The document was to be submitted to the will of the people, June 6, 1865, and no person ineligible to vote under the oath of loyalty prescribed in the proposed constitution itself, was to be allowed to vote at this election.¹²³

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 247-248.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 258, 259, 260.

¹²²*Ibid.*

¹²³*Ibid.*, pp. 275, [276].

Another important ordinance, commonly called the "ousting ordinance," was passed by this convention. A part of the first section of this reads, "That the offices of the Judges of the Supreme Court, of all Circuit Courts, and of all courts of record established by any act of the General Assembly, and those of the Justices of all County Courts, of all clerks of any of the aforesaid courts, of all Circuit Attorneys and their assistants, and of all Sheriffs and County Recorders, shall be vacated on the first day of May, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and the same shall be filled for the remainder of the term of each of said offices, respectively, by appointment by the Governor."¹²⁴ This law had important consequences which will be discussed later. The convention adjourned *sine die* April 10, 1865, after having been in session seventy-eight days.

Owing to the dominant part taken by Charles D. Drake, the convention has been known as "the Drake Convention" and the constitution as "Drake's Constitution" and the disfranchising section as the "Draconian Code."¹²⁵ David Bonham, a farmer and a native of England, also played a leading part in the convention as chairman of a special committee on elective franchise. He was the author of section eighteen of the second article which permitted foreigners to vote upon taking out their first papers.¹²⁶

The campaign over the adoption of the constitution was very bitter. A decided reaction against extreme radicalism was beginning to set in. As early as the latter part of January the *Westliche Post* was protesting against the Puritan tendencies of Drake's constitutional convention.¹²⁷ Friction between the Puritan element in St. Louis and the Germans began as early as 1859 when the mayor, Oliver Dwight Filley a native of Connecticut, enforced a law against Sunday saloons which the Germans wanted.¹²⁸ A large and influential group

¹²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 282.

¹²⁵Switzler, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 260-261; Leopard, Buel, "The Constitutional Convention of 1865," MSS. in Library of State Hist. Soc. of Missouri.

¹²⁷*Missouri Republican*, January 25, 1865.

¹²⁸Johnson, C. P., "Oliver Dwight Filley," *Mo. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Vol. II, p. 8, July, 1906.

of well known Union men spoke against the constitution. Among them were Edward Bates, James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, Robert J. Rombauer, General John McNeil, Dr. M. L. Linton, Isodor Bush, Charles P. Johnson and Colonel T. T. Gantt.¹²⁹ Even Governor Fletcher and Senator Henderson at first opposed it.¹³⁰ Both, however, finally came to its support. Drake led the fight for adoption and he stigmatized as rebels or copperheads all who opposed it.¹³¹

The election returns were slow in coming in and the final result depended upon the soldier vote. The majority for the constitution was 2,362. The soldier vote showed a majority for it of 2,827. The total vote was 84,978. This includes the soldier vote of 5,163.¹³² As the total vote in November 1864, was about 105,000 there was a decrease of about 20,000.

Although the test oath may have excluded some from the polls it must be remembered that an abstract issue, voting on a convention, does not bring out the vote like a concrete issue where the personalities of individual candidates are involved.

A comparison of the election map on the constitution with those before the war reveals the fact that the old Whig counties furnished the main opposition to the new constitution.¹³³

The election map shows that the counties of St. Charles and St. Louis, which the Radicals had carried during the war, were now again in the more conservative column, a fact which suggests the origin, both date and place, of the Liberal Republican movement. Such a discussion, however, is beyond the limits of this study.

¹²⁹*Missouri Republican*, May 26, 1865.

¹³⁰*Missouri Statesman*, April 28, 1865.

¹³¹McClure, C. H., "A Century of Missouri Politics," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. XV, p. 325, January, 1921.

¹³²*Journal, Missouri Senate, 24th General Assembly, 1867, Appendix*, p. 827.

¹³³This conclusion is confirmed by E. M. Violette in his *History of Missouri*, p. 142, where he says, "the chief opponents to the constitution of 1865 were those who had been old line Whigs."

TWENTY-THIRD GENERAL ASSEMBLY, REGULAR SESSION, DECEMBER 26, 1864-FEBRUARY 20, 1865

Governor Hall's farewell address to the twenty-third General Assembly had dealt largely with a defense and commendation of the Missouri enrolled militia. Up-to-date, he said, Missouri had furnished 81,767 men to the federal army and over 60,000 to the militia. He had predicted that the constitutional convention would make great changes in the organic law and that it would devolve upon the legislature to have the statutes of the state conform to them. "Slavery will be abolished, with the almost unanimous approval of the people of Missouri." Abolition, he then observed, would in turn create different relationships between the races which would require new legislation.¹⁸⁴

The inaugural address of the incoming governor, Thomas C. Fletcher, was characterized by an optimistic outlook. He forecasted the end of the war in the spring and dealt mainly with reconstruction issues. He appealed to the victors to be magnanimous to all and to work for the general welfare. However, he recognized that the ballot box must be protected by the registration of all qualified voters. He urged also the passage of some law which would enable liberty loving foreigners to acquire the electoral franchise, in a shorter time.¹⁸⁵

When the convention passed an immediate emancipation measure January 11, 1865, Governor Fletcher, on the same day, issued a proclamation putting it into effect. He sent this to the legislature and he also notified the governors of the free states of the event. They, in turn, wired back telegrams of congratulations.¹⁸⁶

This session of the legislature was not very important as it was overshadowed by the convention which was in session at the same time. The attitude of the Senate toward the convention was well shown by a resolution passed February 1, affirming that the convention members were not meeting the expectations of the loyal people of Missouri but were "wasting their time in fruitless debates and in speech

¹⁸⁴*Journal, Missouri Senate, 23rd General Assembly*, pp. 14-24.

¹⁸⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 34-40.

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 94.

making, and considering questions for which the public mind is not prepared." The resolution further recommended a new convention which should make only laws of a general nature. Nothing came of this action.¹³⁷

A few days later, the Missourians resident in Washington City held a meeting at which a series of resolutions, endorsing the proposed thirteenth amendment to the federal constitution, were passed. These resolutions were sent to the president of the Missouri Senate. The third requested the entire Missouri delegation in Congress "to imitate the example of Hon. Austin A. King and James S. Rollins, to discard party and vote for the amendment to the Constitution forever abolishing slavery, that amendment having been first proposed by one of Missouri's noblest sons, Hon. John B. Henderson. . . ."¹³⁸

OUSTING THE JUDGES, JUNE 14, 1865

The apex of Radical control in Missouri was reached June 14, 1865, when William V. N. Bay and John D. S. Dryden, two of the supreme court judges, were forcibly removed from the court room by the state militia, under the order of Governor Fletcher acting in accordance with the vacating ordinance of March 17, 1865. The third judge, Barton Bates, had previously resigned. Governor Fletcher appointed David Wagner and Walter E. Lovelace to take the places of the ousted judges. The event created great excitement. But it was at once pointed out that these ousted had originally secured their appointments in exactly the same way when Governor Gamble, as head of the provisional government, under authority granted by the first constituent state convention, had deposed their predecessors in 1861.¹³⁹

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 209.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 252.

¹³⁹Skinker, Thomas K., "The Removal of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Missouri in 1865," *Mo. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Vol. IV, pp. 243-274.

RESUME

From its beginning as a state in the Union in 1821 until about 1851, Missouri was southern in population, social customs and economic interests. One striking exception was the absence of the plantation system. During the decade from 1851 to 1861 the state underwent a gradual but decided transformation. This change was caused by a large immigration of Germans, an increased stream of settlers from the northern states and of capital from the East, and the disintegration of the Democratic party with the consequent increase in the strength of the opposition composed mainly of Whigs.

The Germans, highly idealistic by nature, and also economically opposed to slave labor, settled in and near St. Louis, the strategic center of the state. Moreover, they had no sympathy with state rights or secession doctrines as many of them had recently fled their own country after an unsuccessful attempt to unify the German States.

Northern enterprise and a new transportation system which ran westward instead of southward was rapidly making Missouri the gateway to the West. Thomas Hart Benton described the situation well when in a famous speech at St. Louis he pointed toward the Golden Gate and dramatically exclaimed, "There lies the East, there is the road to India!"

Benton was the chief instrumentality by which the Democratic party was divided into two wings. One of them led by himself, was devoted to the nationalistic principles as typified by Andrew Jackson and the free-soil tendencies exemplified by Martin Van Buren. The other faction, led by C. F. Jackson, was equally attached to the state rights and pro-slavery doctrines of John C. Calhoun. It was natural and easy for the Germans to follow the fortunes of the first wing; and in so doing, they merged finally with the Republican party. The Whigs took advantage of the family feud of the Democrats and thereby prolonged their own existence. One of the means of accomplishing this was amalgamation with the Americans or Know-Nothings. Being slave-owners, the Whigs were naturally drawn into an alliance with the pro-slavery Democrats. As the Germans had just left the latter,

the Whigs stepped into their deserted position, a move which was made thereby the easier because of their Know-Nothing affiliations. The Whigs, however, were too strongly attached to the Union to follow the pro-slavery Democrats into the secession camp. They were unwilling to entrust the future security of their slave property to either the fortunes of successful rebellion or to the vicissitudes of war conditions. The Breckenridge Democrats, who were the main strength of the secession forces, were not slaveholders and therefore lacked the conservatism that property interests induce.

The early spring of 1861 found the pro-slavery, state-rights Democrats in control of all branches of the state government with C. F. Jackson as chief executive. When this group attempted to take the state out of the Union, the Whig-Americans, Douglas Democrats and Republicans united in the state convention as a Union party, to prevent secession. In the beginning, very few of the coalition party, except the Republicans, (and they were chiefly Germans), were unconditional Unionists as they believed that the state could maintain a position of neutrality. The shock of war, however, drove most of them to take a firm stand for the Union. Democratic and Whig slave owners, whose idealism was not great enough to cause them to support a Republican president, were now compelled by their economic interests and those of the state in general, to sustain Lincoln's administration. This economic necessity was reinforced by the aggressive military activities of Captain Nathaniel Lyon and Colonel Francis P. Blair and their German allies.

The dominant leadership of the convention—conservative, pro-slavery, but strongly anti-secession—deposed the Jackson regime and placed Hamilton R. Gamble at the head of a provisional government which in conjunction with the convention ruled the state for over three years.

In the course of time, when the tide of rebellion had receded southward, the issue shifted to that of emancipation, inasmuch as slavery was felt to have been the cause of disunion. The Gamble regime was unable to adapt itself quickly enough to the rapid change in public sentiment.

New leaders arose who threw the Conservatives on the defensive by impugning their loyalty, when they opposed immediate emancipation and they finally succumbed before the rising tide of radicalism.

This group of Radical Republicans under the leadership of Charles D. Drake and aided by the test oath, gained control of the three departments of state government just at the close of the war.

Each of the periods outlined above was dominated by a striking personality: Claiborne Fox Jackson in the period of pro-slavery and secession control; Hamilton R. Gamble in the period of pro-slavery and union control; and Charles D. Drake in the period of union and emancipation control. The character of each of these men has been fully described in the foregoing pages.

None will deny the outstanding ability and timely services of Francis P. Blair, Jr., but his energies were divided between the political and the military fields. His greatest political strategy was the merging of previously hostile elements into a Union party for the convention campaign in 1861. His chief military service, in Missouri, was his share with Colonel Lyon in the capture of Camp Jackson and in the driving of Governor Jackson from the state. After that and during the period under discussion he figures comparatively little in the politics of the state.

Thus in a period of less than five years the state of Missouri passed from the control of its southern, pro-slavery, state-rights spokesmen, who did not express the will of a majority, into the hands of its northern, Puritan, foreign born, and nationalistic group of leaders, who likewise did not represent the mass of the people.

SECTION NINETEEN, 1860-1865

Cass (Van B.)	471	756	334	8	242	715	607	23	250	277	4	260	277	297	105	104	167	73
Cedar	441	243	122	3	324	266	277	4	260	295	1	320	308	363	363	102	104	167
Chariton	639	545	124	8	692	608	295	1	611	363	2	363	363	337	337	295	295	12
Christian	322	85	120	342	342	308	308	320	320	557	5	541	4	306	1	328	328	68
Clark	807	769	74	103	542	732	497	277	580	588	997	128	977	125	303	100	604	56
Clay	586	843	134	1	528	1,045	732	92	1,378	216	467	297	492	205	786	179	776	90
Clinton	587	636	38	13	368	674	314	11	33	453	1,256	502	1,281	450	277	269	269	12
Cole	299	734	405	1	430	226	487	114	618	453	939	381	456	1,069	483	478	475	405
Cooper	1,076	1,029	54	7	938	932	281	20	947	997	405	405	405	627	414	704	492	405
Davis	215	458	39	5	169	353	192	35	140	297	307	453	303	377	274	170	205	12
Davis	444	386	78	1	283	406	305	5	100	507	4	480	480	399	11	417	15	12
Dallas	291	370	6	1	225	286	172	20	20	243	12	614	2	421	363	363	363	40
DeWitt	784	572	70	10	692	545	265	33	33	95	775	286	774	290	283	564	564	43
DeKirk	487	264	29	1	239	243	213	7	88	400	197	303	180	231	90	231	90	12
Dent	316	174	130	6	207	243	338	7	89	107	1	108	108	108	52	37	37	12
Douglas	100	45	150	1	260	79	79	1	1	189	2	145	2	134	2	31	1	12
Dunklin	727	654	45	288	888	577	108	494	1,233	846	4,717	401	1,762	261	1,617	327	847	838
Franklin	227	276	39	88	188	157	51	433	877	161	863	156	1,065	150	70	120	568	346
Gaconade	1,212	214	88	161	517	517	259	201	300	300	525	281	273	273	326	326	97	
Gentry	502	1,337	137	1	298	986	414	42	200	2,223	2,223	346	2,133	329	1,651	302	1,050	208
Greene	494	476	24	13	416	507	190	129	461	461	933	17	924	15	643	26	645	43
Grundy	792	104	18	260	910	319	50	297	575	1,252	212	1,241	191	1,130	187	820	185	12
Harrison	771	747	27	1	623	703	232	16	50	465	232	463	229	1	273	1	282	34
Henry	321	263	16	3	238	197	143	15	240	365	1	330	81	525	75	517	49	12
Hickey	504	238	132	173	453	348	171	207	207	673	61	650	81	308	6	205	205	12
Holt	1,098	743	28	1	989	920	247	1	1,414	171	534	6	515	6	308	6	308	12
Howard	76	160	15	1	136	170	91	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12
Howell	532	212	85	40	349	104	36	108	150	526	2	536	2	471	172	172	172	12
Iron	1,663	1,415	103	40	1,095	1,473	943	191	414	602	537	562	564	501	456	428	404	12
Jackson	356	442	65	13	407	424	192	38	38	46	2	52	5	12	5	12	12	12
Jasper	805	528	49	40	490	416	155	142	30	24	915	323	988	230	917	238	452	452
Jefferson	900	1,266	61	3	617	1,224	528	18	340	883	224	823	214	214	**	592	592	67
Knox	844	526	3	8	687	520	301	101	475	471	699	348	668	344	344	344	344	197

ELECTION RETURNS, 1860-1865—Continued

Counties.	Governor, 1860. ¹	President, 1860. ²	Judges, 1863. ³	President, 1864. ⁴	Governor, 1864. ⁵	Convention, 1864. ⁶	Against Constitution, 1865. ⁷	
							Against	
							For	Against
					Price, Conservative			
					Fletcher, Radical			
				McClellan, Democrat				
				Lincoln, National Union				
				Conservatives				
				Radicals				
				Linecoln, Republcan				
				Breckenridge, Democrat				
				Bell, Constitutional Union				
				Douglas, Democrat				
				James Gardnhire, Republican				
				Hancock Jackson, Breckenridge Democrat				
				Sample Orr, Constitutional Unionist				
				C. F. Jackson, Douglas Democrat				
Laclede	285	138	138	139	335	276	6	185
Lafayette	375	1,508	27	774	1,677	371	24	260
Lawrence	432	638	96	138	446	516	59	50
Lewis	1,018	848	101	468	833	597	43	626
Lincoln	885	634	307	13	806	725	396	3
Linn	796	668	7	19	521	546	219	105
Livingston	840	583	37	401	578	470	20	350
Macon	1,424	484	115	1,176	635	414	134	456
Madison	332	331	31	305	226	98	9	155
Marion	291	44	175	5	98	95	309	7
McDonald	1,409	1,322	149	2	1,240	1,386	432	235
Merle	789	613	96	47	206	138	194	3
Miller	297	267	211	1	94	193	495	23
Mississippi	356	210	25	233	305	185	1	200
Monteau	626	867	29	8	476	516	332	87
Monroe	988	1,059	117	1	680	1,086	408	8
Montgomery	597	632	14	34	612	688	83	45

Morgan.....	45	16	550	321	204	18	348	264	367	261	214	235	282
New Madrid.....	142	157	102	233	117	1	100	99	99	91	44	45	77
Newton.....	770	480	62	634	400	225	22	212	1	186	97	11	477
Nodaway.....	101	4	118	84	546	245	2	9	820	6	740	6	13
Oregon.....	418	350	142	70	235	190	308	258	606	704	679	721	398
Osage.....	182	214	30	81	69	135	70	38	34	34	34	122	122
Osaw.......	229	120	120	118	154	70	130	336	482	509	116	435	527
Perry.....	615	100	32	62	467	217	63	336	482	673	290	290	285
Patric.....	475	699	28	28	28	28	28	86	86	849	396	396	334
Phelps.....	445	205	168	11	254	199	470	37	463	281	985	263	269
Pike.....	1,388	50	3	1,117	1,300	420	15	152	763	1,143	930	1,112	70
Pitt.....	1,056	1,005	398	2	1,206	677	6	251	1,257	496	892	1,064	910
Potts.....	163	811	498	1	125	730	477	4	245	102	870	5	821
Pulaski.....	297	5	37	5	107	62	281	7	16	31	105	28	106
Putnam.....	728	350	118	8	590	269	246	111	670	113	1,292	47	15
Ralls.....	616	647	9	1	391	505	149	1	107	403	292	194	241
Randolph.....	828	832	183	1	390	521	520	1	45	1,009	494	327	307
Ray.....	994	701	25	1	881	1,006	233	9	373	1,051	531	798	776
Reynolds.....	298	27	26	123	38	85	4	4	7	20	5	21	1
Ripley.....	121	26	303	78	74	232	232	232	232	232	232	232	20
St. Charles.....	829	724	60	466	832	619	64	634	1,220	659	1,438	394	1,554
St. Clair.....	305	203	142	142	344	378	294	1	223	1	223	1	133
St. Francois.....	647	416	44	44	592	421	111	19	159	539	246	134	126
St. Genevieve.....	556	163	14	30	351	217	72	48	154	423	447	212	213
St. Louis.....	9,764	12,457	219	3,215	9,204	4,331	610	9,945	7,195	5,610	14,027	14,557	13,322
Saline.....	933	1,002	19	19	563	1,035	366	366	101	422	170	98	177
Schuyler.....	590	298	124	4	455	297	251	14	190	159	546	101	25
Scotland.....	722	463	19	108	741	436	187	197	373	576	612	605	575
Scott.....	230	313	282	282	215	243	192	6	36	165	186	225	287
Shannon.....	11	44	181	11	27	38	127	2	36	36	36	142	142
Shelby.....	621	576	95	91	476	702	293	90	393	366	216	214	164
Stockard.....	318	407	12	12	230	386	198	198	198	111	6	219	282
Stone.....	235	26	44	1	83	31	112	30	100	100	100	100	25

THE ESTATE OF JOHN BROWN, 1860-1865—Continued

Ammann & Co. 21

Journal, House of Representatives, 1st

Missouri Republican, Dec. 13, 1864.

Missouri Stateman Nov 27 1863

WILBUR STURTEVANT, NOV. 27, 1803.

Journal, Missouri State Senate, Reg. S.

Journal, Missouri State Senate, Reg. S.

Annual Wisconsin State Summary (1991) - 51

Journal, Missouri State Convention (1863), p. 61.

Journal. Missouri Senate, 24th Gen. Assembly, 1867, Appendix, p. 827.

Associate of 15th senatorial district for 1834 and 1835.

AGREEABLE TO ROYAL BENGAL TIGER 1831, MARCH 40.

***Also Butler and Wright.

AMB Butter and Wright.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

The two biographies in this issue of the *Review* merit the attention of Missourians. The authors, Hon. N. T. Gentry and Dr. Thomas B. Hall, have carefully prepared their contributions: the subjects, Colonel William F. Switzler and Dr. John Sappington, left permanent impress on their state and placed future generations under obligation for their work.

Colonel Switzler through his activities as a public man, editor and historian has always held an enviable position in the memory of his people. Nearly twenty-five years have passed since his death and almost one-half century since he completed his greatest labors, yet he stands out today as a striking, almost living, personality. We live under the Constitution of Missouri (1875) which he helped frame. We still read the old files of the newspaper, *The Missouri Statesman*, which he edited. And, we consult his *History of Missouri* perhaps even more frequently than we did when it was published in the 70's.

To Dr. John Sappington, Missouri is no less indebted, perhaps is under even greater obligation. His biographer has made clear a contribution of this pioneer physician which today is almost forgotten despite its being an almost obvious corollary of Dr. Sappington's bid to fame—his widespread saving of human life through the use of quinine as a specific for malaria. If it were possible to enumerate those pioneers—men, women and children—who through Dr. Sappington's Anti-Fever Pills (quinine) survived the most widespread scourge of those days, and if their descendants were then estimated, one would probably be astonished at the living debt of gratitude owing this country doctor of Central Missouri.

"The California Letter of John Wilson, 1850," edited by Professor Frederic A. Culmer, is an exceptionally vivid description of the gold-rush days in San Francisco. The imagination of Missourians was as deeply and widely excited in '49-'50 over the discovery of gold in California as it ever has been over Wall Street booms since those years. Pioneer days lacked many of the kinds of excitement of present times but probably the former held as much in degree.

Other editorial contributions by Professor Culmer, selected from his study of the correspondence of Judge Abiel Leonard, will later appear in the *Review*.

APPRECIATION

I read the *Review* eagerly and think it is a great piece of work. I wish that I might in some way more effectively express my appreciation.—Ira M. Davis, Humansville, Missouri, January 7, 1928.

I am enclosing renewal of my membership in the Society. I do not want to miss a copy of the *Review*.—George B. Smiley, Troy, Missouri, January 12, 1929.

I wish to thank you for the copy of the current issue of the *Review* which is a very valuable contribution to the history of Missouri.—E. H. Wherry, House of Representatives, Jefferson City, Missouri, January 19, 1929.

I have read with the greatest interest the January number of the *Missouri Historical Review*, and especially the contribution by Mr. B. M. Little.—Victor M. Berthold, New York City, January 21, 1929.

I have just read the January issue of *The Missouri Historical Review* and I was greatly entertained and pleased with it. I read every line. I not only enjoyed the articles but I was greatly impressed with the great work the Society is doing in keeping up the history of the state. The subjects treated in the January issue of the *Review* are certainly most interesting and comprehensive. Surely no state has history more interesting; it ought to be and must be preserved. The article by Roy V. Magers brings up some new facts in the history of David Barton. The article on the Great Seal of the State of Missouri by Perry S. Rader is excellent and it tells the whole story. There is an abundance of history notes and comments upon Missouri that is well worth preserving. I have in my library all of the publications of the *Review* for years past; they are of inestimable value.—E. W. Stephens, Columbia, Missouri, January 17, 1929.

I have spent a most delightful evening with the *Review* for January, 1929.—William G. Bek, Grand Forks, North Dakota, January 25, 1929.

I have just read the January, 1929, issue of the *Review* and I wish to express special commendation in regard to it.—Charles Whitaker, Clinton, Missouri, January 29, 1929.

The Missouri Historical Review for January, 1929, arrived today and it is an excellent number. All the articles are stimulating, the illustrations delightful and the type a joy to read. The article on "The Great Seal of the State of Missouri" seemed to me to be especially timely.—Cyril Clemens, Mark Twain Society, Mayfield, California, January 27, 1929.

Last week I received the January issue of the *Review*. I take this opportunity to congratulate the Society upon this splendid publication. Several of the articles are exceptional both in quality and in interest. I was very much interested in the one by Professor Smith.—Thomas S. Barclay, Stanford University, California, January 28, 1929.

The *Review* becomes more and more interesting to me with each issue, and I frankly consider it the best of similar publications from other states, which I see.—David R. Williams, St. Louis, Missouri, February 1, 1929.

I have enjoyed every number of the *Review* and want to have it as long as it is published.—Mrs. Fred E. Clark, Springfield, Missouri, February 2, 1929.

The January issue of the *Review* keeps up to the high standard set by previous numbers. The articles on "The Blairs and Fremont" and "The National Old Trails Road at Lexington" were of special interest to me as I lived in Missouri during Civil War days.—J. P. Renfrew, Alva, Oklahoma, February 14, 1929.

The *Review* is an interesting publication, and I am glad to become a member of the Society.—Eugene L. Johnson, Rolla, Missouri, April 29, 1929.

The Missouri Historical Review is a veritable treasure, invaluable in historic research, each number more enjoyable.—Mrs. L. H. Howard, Unionville, Missouri, May 24, 1929.

I enjoy reading the *Review* more than any other magazine, and I want to continue to receive it.—Mrs. F. S. Steiner, Marceline, Missouri, July 5, 1929.

I am looking forward to receiving the July number of the *Review* with much pleasure. I always find it interesting and helpful in my work.—Ada Clair Darby, Chula Vista, California, July 8, 1929.

I am greatly interested in *The Missouri Historical Review*. Our family has resided in Missouri for some eighty-seven years and the writer has lived almost seventy-seven years in St. Louis.—E. H. Greve, St. Louis, Missouri, July 12, 1929.

Since the arrival of the July number of the *Review* I have been enjoyably spending my odd moments in reading Engelmann's article on his trip to central Arkansas in 1837 and Cyrus Thompson's description of his life in Jefferson City.—W. A. Kelsoe, St. Louis, Missouri, July 7, 1929.

The *Review* contains much interesting and instructive reading, and I enjoy reading each number.—J. M. Whitworth, Ironton, Missouri, July 26, 1929.

BINGHAM'S PORTRAIT OF Vinnie REAM

The most interesting recent acquisition in the collection of the State Historical Society is George C. Bingham's portrait of Vinnie Ream Hoxie, the first woman sculptor to receive a commission from the Congress of the United States, and the only woman sculptor for whom President Lincoln ever sat. The portrait is the original canvas painted by Bingham in 1876, and shows the young sculptor standing beside her bust of Lincoln, which she modelled shortly before his death.

Through the efforts of Mr. C. B. Rollins, Senior, of Columbia, the picture was presented to the Society by General and Mrs. Richard L. Hoxie of Washington, D. C. It is of especial historical interest since the painter was a Missourian of note, both in the fields of politics and of art, and the subject, a former student of Christian College who achieved fame.

Vinnie Ream, a native of Madison, Wisconsin, was a student in Columbia in the early 60's. Later, she moved with her family to Washington, D. C., and it was there that Major James S. Rollins, then a Congressman from Missouri, became interested in her genius.

Vinnie Ream was at that time still in her 'teens—a clerk in the postoffice department. She had had no training in her art, and indeed, at that period, scarcely knew herself that she possessed such gifts. Taken one day to the studio of the sculptor, Clark Mills, she confidently announced that she could model statues. When given a supply of clay she amazed the artist by reproducing faithfully the head of an Indian. Encouraged by Mills, she made busts of several congressmen and senators. Later, through the efforts of Major Rollins, President Lincoln was persuaded to sit for her, and she completed a bust of him but a short time before his death. After Lincoln's assassination, Congress commissioned her to model a life-size statue of the President, and it is this statue which now stands in the rotunda of the capitol at Washington. Later, she studied in Paris and Rome. Upon her return she was married to Lieutenant Hoxie of Washington.

In 1876, George C. Bingham, the Missouri artist, was in Washington on a political mission. While awaiting the action of Congress on his measure, he painted the portrait of Vinnie Ream, which is now the property of the State Historical Society through the good offices of Mr. Rollins and the generosity of General and Mrs. Hoxie.

The picture, a life-size portrait, presents a left, three-quarters view of the young sculptor, dressed in the usual white artist's smock. The blue scarf which binds her hair and the deep red hanging to the left serve to brighten the otherwise somewhat dull background. To the right upon a pedestal Miss Ream's first bust of Lincoln is dimly seen. As is usual in Bingham's portraits, all details have been subordinated to the modelling of the face and head. The face, in this instance, is particularly well done, and is full of vitality and charm. It is said to be an excellent likeness.

DONATION OF GLOBE-DEMOCRAT FILE

The Society takes pleasure in acknowledging the donation of a file of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* from January 26, 1876, to February 28, 1878, by the Culver-Stockton College Library, of Canton, Missouri. These volumes were given to the Society January 3, 1929, and have just been bound in thirteen volumes. The paper on which these are printed is of excellent grade and all volumes are well preserved.

In re THE BOONE, HAYS AND BERRY FAMILIES

BY OVID BELL, FULTON, MO.

The article in the July issue of *The Missouri Historical Review* on "The Boone, Hays and Berry Families of Jackson County" contains some inaccuracies that should be corrected.

The first error is the statement that Callaway county was named for Col. Richard Callaway. Instead, the county was named for Capt. James Callaway, who was killed by Indians at the confluence of Prairie Fork and Loutre creeks in Montgomery county, March 7, 1815. He was a son of Jemima Boone, daughter of Daniel Boone, and Flanders Callaway—not Col. Richard Callaway.

Boone Hays never lived at Cote sans Dessein, the French settlement in Callaway county that for two years (1808 to 1810) was Far West in America, so far as the records disclose. His name does not figure in the history of the village. He did own land in the southeastern part of Callaway county on which he operated a mill and was an influential citizen here in the early years of the county's history. An ancient highway leading east and south from Fulton still bears his name. The county records show that he parted with his land here in 1833 and that two years later he sold two negro slaves.

The family name Scholl, used frequently in the article, is misspelled Schull. The name is still alive in this county, and through a hundred years of Missouri history the Scholls have been good and useful citizens.

Caleb Berry lived in Callaway and is buried in an unmarked grave in the cemetery of Liberty Christian Church, in almost the extreme northeast corner of the county. William Reese Wells, a Confederate veteran, who was Berry's neighbor before the Civil War, says Berry never lived in Jackson county, though he had married daughters living there. He died at the home of another married daughter, Mrs. John Rodgers, just over the Callaway line in Audrain county. In his early life Caleb Berry operated a rather large farm distillery on his place on Whetstone Creek, in northeast Callaway.

Caleb Berry was a son of Richard Berry, of Kentucky, as the article states. At the time of her marriage to Thomas Lincoln, Nancy Hanks was an inmate of the Berry home in Kentucky and Richard Berry signed the marriage bond of Lincoln which the state required the latter to give. The story in Callaway is that Nancy Hanks was a domestic servant in the Berry family—not a kinswoman. Richard Berry brought his family to Callaway in 1823. Other sons besides Caleb included Samuel H. Berry, who was county sheriff and collector two years immediately preceding the Civil War.

Ike and Dick Berry, mentioned in the article, were sons of Caleb Berry. Instead of being members of the Hays-Shelby regiment in the Confederate service in which Mr.

Wells served, they joined Quantrill and remained with him until Quantrill and "Bill" Anderson split up, when they went with Anderson. They were, of course, often in touch with Shelby during the war.

The Berry boys were with Anderson at Centralia, and according to the story that has come down through the years in Callaway, persuaded Anderson to burn Danville, county seat of Montgomery county. This was in retaliation for an indignity to two of their sisters.

None of the Berry boys went with Shelby to Mexico, Mr. Wells, their schoolmate, says. This is confirmed also by others. Ike Berry engaged in the liquor business at Williamsburg, Callaway county, shortly after the close of the war and subsequently was in the same business in Montgomery county. Still later he was part owner of a restaurant here in Fulton. He died a few years ago in either Chariton or Randolph county. Dick Berry went to Montana when the war ended and was a deputy sheriff at Helena a while. He lived but a few years after the war. Jim Berry, who was alleged to have been a member of the Jesse James band, was killed by Sheriff Glascock, of Audrain county, in 1877. The shooting occurred in Callaway county and Berry is buried beside his father and mother in Liberty churchyard.

HOW BLOOMINGTON LOST THE COUNTY SEAT

BY EDGAR WHITE, MACON, MO.

The curious manner by which the Macon county seat was removed from old Bloomington to Macon without a county seat row is told in the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* of June 2, 1929, by Edgar White, who is compiling a series of sketches of interesting western communities. The Major Moody referred to was an uncle of Governor Dan Moody of Texas.

In *The Republican's* sketch are illustrations of what is left of Old Bloomington and its honorary "mayor," Prof. J. C. Walker, a school teacher of 40 years' experience. This is the story:

"Maj. Moody, you will take your men at 7 in the morning, ride directly to Bloomington and burn the town—don't leave a house standing, sir!"

"Yes, general, but—"

"Well, sir?"

"Suppose I think up a better way?"

"Well, major, you have until 7 in the morning to do it. But, remember, that nest must be wiped out!"

"Yes, sir."

It was during the war between the states when Missouri was the battleground for two resolute factions.

Gen. Lewis Merrill was in command of the department of northern Missouri, with headquarters at Macon.

Bloomington was the county seat. Confederate companies had gone out from that town, and it was reported to be a rendezvous for bushwhackers, who were active against the government. It was charged that Bloomington sympathized with these irregular bands as well as with the regular southern army. It was after some peculiarly aggravating activity of the bushwhackers that Gen. Merrill gave his drastic order for the elimination of Bloomington.

Maj. Tom Moody was a native of the county. While a thoroughly loyal Union man, he had many friends on the other side, particularly in Bloomington. The carrying of the torch to the home of his friends was against the grain. All that night he walked the floor with the sinister problem, and by morning he found the answer. He reported to his commander.

"That Bloomington matter, general," said Moody.

"Yes, yes!"

"I don't like the idea of burning a town where I have so many friends."

Gen. Merrill frowned.

"It's not what you like, major," he said. "It's what I like."

"I know, general, but I have a better way."

"Let's have it."

"Bloomington is the county seat. It has the court house and all the court records, but it's off the railroad and

hard for people to reach. Now, suppose I run for the legislature, and introduce a bill to bring the county seat over here as a war measure. The town will go off the map same as if you burned it."

"Good!" cried Merrill, "announce your candidacy at once, and I'll see you're elected!"

The plan was carried out exactly as suggested. The county seat was ordered removed to Macon by act of the legislature in 1863, and the old county seat town of the pioneers practically disappeared.

It was one of the few cases when a Missouri county seat was changed without a long and acrimonious row. Bloomington couldn't protest. The government was doing it, and the government had bayonets behind it.

MARK TWAIN IN SACRAMENTO

BY CYRIL CLEMENS

After paying a visit to Sacramento in 1866, Mark Twain wrote the following account to the *Golden Era*. When he was working on *The Virginia City Enterprise* he paid several visits to San Francisco, and he would always stop off at the Capital City for a few days. As a rule he put up at the Orleans Hotel.

"The bootblacking facilities of Sacramento are unsurpassed by those of any city in the world. There is a bootblacking stand in front of every saloon, which is to say, there are bootblacking stands all along. All those prominent positions which in other cities are usually sacred to the peanut-stand interest, are here seized and held by the bootblack. These mute facts tell the stranger that Sacramento, which is now so irreproachably cleanly, has long and fearful attacks of alternate sand and dust. In further evidence of this, I remarked that of the one hundred and eighty-four gentlemen who lounged about the front of the Orleans Hotel when I came down and asked for breakfast at 12:10, which I didn't get, a hundred and seventy had their boots blackened. Every time during the day when I noticed anyone looking unusually hard at me, I went and had my shoes blackened. And I

learned something. That a Chinaman has no talent for polishing boots and always makes a failure of it. When you desire the services of a real artist, always choose one of the three naturally gifted species of bootblacks—an ex-slave, a colored citizen, or a nigger. They understand the business."

MORE ABOUT GOVERNOR DUNKLIN

In a letter of July 10, 1929, to the Society, Mr. J. W. McMurray, of 6836 Smiley Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri, adds the following to the knowledge of Governor Dunklin:

In your article "This Week in Missouri History" July 22, 1928, you do not mention the last residence and burial place of Gov. Dunklin. His last residence was situated about one mile north of the old town of Herculaneum on the Mississippi river, where he also conducted a large farm and a general river store. When he moved to this place from Potosi, Mo., he occupied a large two-story log house on the bank of the river, but later on he built a large two-story brick house about one quarter mile west on higher ground. His death occurred in this house in 1844. We have been told that he was standing at this large elm tree (a picture of the tree was inclosed) viewing the great flood at that time, and got his feet wet and contracted pneumonia which proved fatal.

He was buried beneath this elm tree. In 1886 his son, James L. Dunklin, sold the farm to Chas. B. Parsons (superintendent of the St. Joseph Lead Co.) and reserved the south-east acres of the farm as a burial ground, and the remains of the governor and his great-grandchild and the sarcophagus were removed there, if I remember correctly, in 1886 or 1887. Since then the governor's son, James L. Dunklin, his daughter, Emily S. McIlvaine and his grandson Daniel Dunklin have been buried there. My parents purchased a small farm on the Mississippi river bluff just south of and adjoining the Dunklin farm in 1870. I was born there in 1879. The Dunklin Cemetery is about four hundred feet north of our house. About three hundred feet north of the Dunklin Cemetery on the river bluff was situated the New Hartford Shot Tower, and at the foot of the bluff near the river bank

was a village called New Hartford. The lead was hauled from Potosi, Mo., with oxen through Herculaneum and along the top of the bluff to the Shot Tower. Old residents told us that shot was made there for the War of 1812. About one mile south of the Dunklin Cemetery, at the north end of old Herculaneum, Governor Thos. C. Fletcher was born. When the Mississippi River and Bonne Terre railroad was built through Herculaneum in 1889 or 1890 the first water tank was placed on the stone foundation of the old Fletcher house, where Governor Fletcher's father, Clement Fletcher, lived and conducted a store. My uncle, the late J. W. McMurray, who was an officer in the regular army, was stationed at Columbia, Mo., as instructor of military tactics in 1871-72. If I can render you any more information I shall be pleased to do so.

Our family have been trying for many years to have the State erect a suitable marker at Governor Dunklin's grave. It is in a dilapidated condition.

MISSOURI'S SHARE OF HEROES

Missouri, on the basis of its share as one of forty-eight states or on the ratio of its population to that of the entire United States, had more than its share of heroes of the World War. Of the ninety awards of the Congressional Medal of Honor sixty-two were made to living heroes, and twenty-eight to those who gave their lives to their country. Of the latter, one is the Unknown Soldier. There are, therefore, only eighty-nine names on this scroll of honor. Eight of the medal of honor men were born in Missouri. One award, that of Alexander Skinner, captain 138th infantry, 35th division, born in St Louis, was made posthumously. The others:

Private Charles D. Barger, Company L, 354th infantry, 89th division, born in Mount Vernon.

Private John L. Barkley, Company K, 4th infantry, 3rd division, born in Blairstown.

Sergeant Michael B. Ellis, Company C, 28th infantry, 89th division, born in St. Louis.

Sergeant Arthur J. Forrest, Company D, 354th infantry, 89th division, born in St. Louis.

Private Jesse N. Funk, Company L, 354th infantry, 89th division, born in New Hampton.

Sergeant M. Waldo Hatler, Company B, 356th infantry, 89th division, born in Bolivar.

Corporal Harold L. Turner, Company F, 142nd infantry, 36th division, born in Aurora.—From the Kansas City *Times*, October 28, 1929.

ANNIVERSARIES AND MEMORIALS

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Stanberry, Gentry county, was celebrated September 26 and 27, 1929. Features of the program were a parade showing the history and progress of Stanberry, agricultural and live stock contests, and public addresses, one of which was by Governor Caulfield.

Iconium, St. Clair county, one of the oldest towns in southwest Missouri, celebrated its eightieth anniversary on July 26 and 27 with an Old Settlers' Picnic.—Jefferson City, Missouri, August, 1929.

The sixty-fifth anniversary of the Battle of Pilot Knob was celebrated September 22, 1929. The battle was fought September 26-27, 1864. The celebration was at Fort Davidson, which has been preserved intact.

An account of the 49th annual Soldiers' and Settlers' Reunion at Cassville appears in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of September 16, 1929. Dr. John Ray originated the idea of such a reunion in 1876. Several persons who attended this year came in covered wagons.

Sixty-two years after one of the bloodiest battles of the Civil War was fought between neighbors and even members of the same families, \$400 has been subscribed in four days for a monument to the Federal dead of Lone Jack, Mo.

A Confederate monument has been standing to the dead of the South since a few years following the close of the war. To mark the graves of the Union men only two little mounds rise from the field.

A. F. McCray, a veteran of the battle, who lost his left leg in the encounter, wrote a letter to the *Star*, published on the anniversary of the battle, August 16, pointing out the neglect of this historic site. V. F. Boor responded at once with an offer of \$100. Three allied associations of the G. A. R. followed the example immediately with \$100 each.
—From the Kansas City *Star*, August 20, 1929.

The Swiss Union, Schweizerbund, commemorated its 80th anniversary in St. Louis, November 17, 1929. Albert Peter, president for twenty-five years, traced its history back to its formation after the World's Fair, when a number of Swiss societies were consolidated. The earliest of these was organized in 1849. In 1815, it is said, more than 1,500 Swiss had settled in St. Louis, and in 1849 the first mutual aid organization was founded.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, November 18, 1929.

The forty-eighth annual Reunion of the Old Settlers of Northeast Missouri was held near New Florence on August 3. Eight thousand people were in attendance. Speakers were Congressman Clarence Cannon, Gales Johnson, editor of the Mexico *Intelligencer*, E. P. Rosenberger, and Larry Brunk, state treasurer.

Pleasant Hill Presbyterian Church, two miles east of Paris, Missouri, celebrated its 100th anniversary November 3, 1929, according to the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of November 6. The church was organized in 1829 by seven white persons and a negro woman.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the First Baptist Church of Fulton, Missouri, was celebrated the week of October 13-19, reports the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of October 20. The church was organized October 18, 1854.

The celebration of the 90th anniversary of the founding of the Lafayette Park Methodist Church in St. Louis was held during the week of September 22-29, 1929.

The 90th anniversary of the founding of Concordia Lutheran Seminary was celebrated October 13, 1929, in St. Louis.—St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, October 14, 1929.

The 100th anniversary of the New Hope Baptist Church, twelve miles northwest of Excelsior Springs, Missouri, was celebrated September 29, 1929. The Kansas City *Journal-Post* of September 26, describes its organization as follows:

In 1828 a small group of pioneers met and organized a church which in 1829 they named New Hope. The Rev. Benjamin W. Riley and the Rev. Howard Everett were called and preached alternately.

In 1830 the members met and erected a log house. The present church, a brick, was erected on the same site a quarter of a century ago.

It was in those early days that on Communion Sunday some good sister would gather grapes, press and strain the juice for use in observing the Lord's Supper. Later the church split and only fifteen "hard shell" Baptists remained.

The Rev. Mr. Kinney, who was the pastor, went with the free communionists. The few remaining members called the Rev. Thomas Riggs as pastor, who continued to serve for a number of years, and was followed by the Rev. Robert James, father of Frank and Jesse James. Historians record that the Rev. Mr. James took charge of the church in 1843 and while he was pastor the church grew to ninety-four mem-

bers. He is said to have led the church into the North Liberty Association in 1844.

The church now has forty-five members.

The annual homecoming of the Mt. Nebo Baptist church recently marked the 109th anniversary of its formation. . . . Near the vestibule is the old slave balcony. Men and boys sit on the left side of the meeting house. In former days there was a partition dividing the sexes in worship. This has been removed, but the custom of seating prevails.

To the front is the high pulpit, abandoned now for a lower one, but still occupied in the memories of older members by stalwart preachers proclaiming the gospel to stalwart people.

June 3, 1820, a year before Missouri became a state, (in the union), some of the settlers of the immediate neighborhood met in a log school house one mile north of the present site of Bunceton and organized Mt. Nebo Baptist church. For nearly 110 years worship has had but a few short interruptions. . . .—From the *Kansas City Times*, August 19, 1929.

A special church service and a public meeting were held in St. Louis October 13, 1929, in observance of the 150th anniversary of the death of Brigadier General Casimir Pulaski, the Polish soldier who was of material aid to the Continental Army in the American Revolution. He died October 10, 1779. St. Louis has a street, and Missouri a county, named after him.

The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of August 12 contains a picture of a memorial bust of Mark Twain which was unveiled at Mono Lake, Nevada.

October 29 a bust of the late Oliver H. Dean, of Kansas City, was unveiled in the Kansas City School of Law.

A bronze tablet, placed in the headstone at the grave of William Lumbley, soldier in the Revolutionary War, who was buried eight miles east of Miller, in Lawrence county, was dedicated October 2 by members of the Rhoda Fairchild chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, of Carthage.

Lumbley was born about 1762, and at the age of 18 enlisted in the American army and served as a private in Capt. Howell Myrick's company and also in Capt. Philip Sansum's company, in Col. Richard Campbell's Virginia regiment. He moved to Missouri in 1835, settling on Turnback Creek, in Ozark township, Lawrence county, where he built and operated a water mill. He died October 28, 1843.

A bronze memorial tablet four by five feet in size honoring the late George W. Niedringhaus is to be placed in the City Hall, at St. Louis. Niedringhaus is hailed as the founder of Granite City. A picture of the tablet appears in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of October 19, 1929.

The memorial erected to the late Rabbi Leon Harrison by the congregation of Temple Israel in Mount Sinai Cemetery was dedicated October 13, 1929.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, October 24, 1929.

A monument to "Uncle Ike" Morrill, late postmaster in the *Shepherd of the Hills* country, was unveiled October 20, 1929, by Dewey Short, State representative. Mrs. Pearl Spurlock, a taxicab driver of Branson, raised the money for this monument in small gifts from her passengers last summer.—*Kansas City Star*, October 20, 1929.

September 17, 1929, Lafayette county paid a tribute to its first white settler of record, Giliad Rupe. A bronze tablet embedded in red Missouri granite was placed on his grave in Machpelah cemetery at Lexington.

At the suggestion of Mrs. Henry Chiles the Lexington Chamber of Commerce henceforth will observe Constitution

day, which is also the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington, for marking historic sites in the county.—*Kansas City Star*, September 15, 1929.

The St. Louis, Pioneer and Rebecca Wells Heald Chapters, United States Daughters 1812, of Missouri, unveiled a tablet on the site of Fort Zumwalt, now on Highway 40, at O'Fallon, on September 17. A story of the early fort as well as the unveiling ceremony appears in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of September 18, 1929.

A memorial in honor of the World War veterans of Cass county was dedicated at Harrisonville, November 11, 1929. The monument "The Doughboy," was purchased by the state, Cass county, and citizens at a cost of \$2,500. The *Kansas City Star* of November 10, 1929, has a picture of the memorial.

The bell of the United States Cruiser "St. Louis" which was transferred to the Seventh Battalion of the Naval Reserve seven years after the vessel had been put out of commission, yesterday found a permanent resting place in the City Hall, reports the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* of October 26, 1929. The "St. Louis" was launched in 1906, and served until March 3, 1922. It made eight round trips to Europe during the war, serving as a convoy and taking 8,500 passengers each time.

Kingshighway Memorial Boulevard, in St. Louis, is described in the November, 1929, issue of *Missouri*, published at Jefferson City. The National Society 1917 World War Registrars sponsored the erection of bronze memorial plates and the planting of trees along the Boulevard, and to date has planted 503 trees, of the 1,100 which eventually will honor all of St. Louis' veterans.

Richards Road is the name chosen for the new highway at the Kansas City airport. . . . The name is in

memory of Lieutenant John H. Richards, the first Kansas City flier to be killed in action in the World War —*Kansas City Star*, October 13, 1929.

A memorial fountain, surmounted by figures in bronze, erected in Forest Park, St. Louis, by the State Society of the Daughters of American Colonists, pays honor to the women who lived in the Mississippi valley when Missouri was a part of the French and Spanish colonies. The memorial was dedicated October 5, 1929. It was designed by Nancy Coonsman Hahn.

At the southeast corner of Main and Walnut Streets, St. Louis, there is a small sign which reads: "Here Stood the Spanish Government House and here on 10th of March, 1804, Upper Louisiana was transferred to the United States." —Special monthly edition of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, November, 1929.

This is the fiftieth season of the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, reports the special monthly edition of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, November, 1929.

The Humansville *Star-Leader* of November 21 is a special edition dealing with the dedication of a new \$75,000 Community Building and the George Dimmitt Memorial Hospital. The latter was erected by Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Dimmitt, of Hollywood, California, in memory of their son who died August 20, 1928. This issue also contains data concerning the early days of Humansville.

There was a special edition of the Cape Girardeau *Southeast Missourian*, October 3, 1929, celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary. The growth and progress of the paper as well as of Cape Girardeau and its other institutions are features of this edition.

NOTES

The body of former Governor Herbert S. Hadley, which has lain in a receiving vault of Bellefontaine Cemetery in St. Louis since his death in December, 1927, was interred in Riverview Cemetery, Jefferson City, November 16, 1929.

"Rocky Moore," famous plainsman and scout during frontier days, died at the Confederate Soldiers' Home, at Higginsville, Missouri, October 29, 1929. His real name was James Mortimer Adair, and he was born in Kentucky in 1834.—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 31, 1929.

William Robb Gillis, who has lived on top of Jackass Hill in California many years, died August 20, 1929, reports the *St. Louis Star* of August 21, 1929. Mark Twain lived with him and his brothers when he was in California during his mining career.

A lengthy article concerning the late Jim Cummins, former member of the James Gang who died a few months ago, appears in the *Kansas City Star* of September 22, 1929. Mr. A. B. McDonald is the author.

Henri Chomeau, who was St. Louis county surveyor at the time Clayton was laid out in 1878, died at his home there August 18, 1929, at the age of 81.

Three Kansas Citians, Joseph F. Porter, E. R. Weeks, and William M. Hand, men who helped launch the electrical industry, and their work are described in the *Kansas City Star* of October 20, 1929.

The adventures of John L. Barkley, of Holden, Missouri, during the World War are described by A. B. McDonald in the *Kansas City Star* of November 10, 1929. Mr. Barkley is hailed as Missouri's greatest World War hero, having repulsed an entire regiment of Germans single handed, and having received eight decorations.

Hannibal as Mark Twain knew it, and as the same scenes are today, is described by Donald McKay in the *New York Times*. The *Kansas City Star* of November 7, 1929, reprints this article.

Mr. Robert M. Snyder, Jr., by aid of a volume found in Italy, helps to clear up the mystery of "The Little Papoose," son of the "Bird Woman," Sacajawea, and Charbonneau, guide and interpreter of the Lewis and Clark expedition, says the *Kansas City Star* of July 14, 1929. Mr. Snyder in his article describes events in the history of Kansas City and pioneer Missouri which have heretofore been obscure.

"A Lincoln Letter That Might Have Stopped Sterling Price Before the Battle of Westport," written by Richard B. Fowler for the *Kansas City Star*, October 20, 1929, brings to light a little known chapter in the life of General Sterling Price, Missouri's outstanding Confederate general. The letter, now owned by C. B. Rollins, of Columbia, was written to Gen. Edwin M. Price, son of Sterling Price, by James S. Rollins, member of Congress, urging him to prevail upon his father to give up the Confederate cause. Mr. Rollins had succeeded in getting a conditional promise of pardon for General Price from President Lincoln, by which it was hoped to induce him to join the Union. Circumstances surrounding these practically unknown letters are described by the author. William Bright, of Columbia, a Confederate veteran, recalls the words of Price to his soldiers after the war, urging them to return to Missouri and to obey the laws.

A lengthy article in the *Kansas City Star* of November 7, 1929, recounts the life story of Vinnie Ream, the sculptress of the Lincoln and Farragut statues. She and Edmund G. Ross, Kansas Senator, are subjects of sketches in "The Tragic Era" by Claude G. Bowers. Miss Ream was a student at Christian College, in Columbia. The recent acquisition of a picture of Miss Ream at work on the bust of Lincoln, by Bingham, famous Missouri artist, makes this article especially interesting to the Society and its members.

Mr. Fred W. Lorch, writing in *The Palimpsest*, October, 1929, published by the State Historical Society of Iowa, brings to light much about Orion Clemens, brother of Mark Twain. The entire issue is devoted to this subject.

"Carl Schurz, 1829-1929," an article by Glenn Frank, appears in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, September, 1929.

Much of the 1929 *Yearbook* of the German-American Historical Society of Illinois is devoted to the life and works of Carl Schurz, whose centennial was observed last fall.

William L. White, associate editor of the Emporia (Kansas) *Gazette*, recently returned from a four-months' sojourn in France, bringing with him an account of battles fought near Baulny, France, by the 35th Division, composed of Kansas and Missouri troops. He relates the story as told him by a former German officer, Richard Becker, who commanded a unit opposing the Americans. This story appears in the Kansas City *Star* of September 15, and is accompanied by a commentary by Col. E. M. Stayton, a veteran of the 35th Division.

"The Religious Situation in Missouri up to 1839," by Prof. R. W. Heintze, is printed in the October number of the *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, published in St. Louis.

"Missouri After the War," by Joe Lee Bomar, of Audrain County, Missouri, gives an account of the experiences of his family following the return of his father from the Civil War. *The Confederate Veteran* (Nashville, Tenn.) of October published this article.

The history of the Dred Scott case, first tried in the Circuit Court of St. Louis before going to the Supreme Court of the United States, is recounted in an article by W. M.

Kinsey, former Congressman and judge, in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of October 20, 1929.

The romantic history of Biddle street, in St. Louis, which has been successively the home of Irish, Germans, Poles, Jews, Italians, and Negroes, is recounted briefly in the *St. Louis Star* of October 3, 1929.

O. K. Armstrong, field man of Drury College, Springfield, Missouri, is writing a history of the South from the viewpoint of the slaves. He is now touring the South in order to get data from former slaves, and other first-hand information.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 31, 1929.

The history of baseball in Kansas City during the last forty-five years is given in a series of articles in the *Kansas City Star* beginning September 15, 1929.

The *Kansas Citian* of September 10 contains historical sketches of the Kansas City stock yards, transportation systems, board of trade, post office, telephone systems, schools, river navigation, street railways, public library, press, baseball, air mail and aviation, and many business firms.

A folk-song department is to be conducted regularly in *Ozark Life*, published at Kingston, Arkansas, by Vance Randolph, beginning in the December, 1929, issue. Mr. Randolph is widely recognized as an authority on Ozark folklore. The October-November number reprints several folk songs which were collected by Lilith Shell for the *Arkansas Gazette*.

"Ozark Observations and Impressions," appears in the 1928 Year Book of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee. The author is Walter D. Kline, assistant lecturer Milwaukee Public Museum.

The legends that surround the Ozark caves of southwest Missouri are recounted in the Kansas City *Star* of August 4, 1929.

Theses accepted by the University of Missouri during 1928 and 1929 include the following which deal with Missouri subjects:

Blair, Morris Myers; *The Ozarks as a Manufacturing Region, Their Present Development and Prospects*.

Buren, Roy E.; *A Survey of Juvenile Delinquency in Columbia, Missouri*.

Childs, Alice; *Some Ballads and Folk-Songs From the South*.

Cramer, Roscoe Vern; *State Support of Public Schools in Missouri*.

Drouet, Francis; *A Preliminary List of Algae Found in the Vicinity of Columbia, Missouri*.

Ewing, Martha Kennedy; *Place Names in the Northwest Counties of Missouri*.

Foster, Jay Rhoads; *Employment in the Penal and Eleemosynary Institutions of Missouri*.

Hines, A. Clarence; *The Beginnings of the Democratic Party in Missouri, 1824-1836*.

McLean, Elgin Evans; *The Ratio of Assessed Value to Sale Value of Real Property in Boone County, 1910-14 and 1923-28*.

Nichols, G. Samuel; *The Columbia Church Survey*.

Rutledge, Richard Boyden; *The Geology of Lawrence County and Part of Newton and Barry Counties, Missouri*.

Schowengerdt, George Carl; *An Investigation of Cull Apples in Missouri*.

Scott, Ellen Jo; *A Study of the Curriculum of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri Based on the Opinions of 400 Alumni and Other Former Students*.

Somerville, Leslie Glendenning; *Classification and Progress of Pupils in the Rural Schools of Nodaway County*.

Taylor, Jean Elsie; *Main Currents of Regional Literature in the Lower Middle West from 1870 to 1927*.

Here's what Count Hermann Keyserling, German philosopher, thinks of Missouri and St. Louis, as expressed in an article, "Genius Loci, the Civilization of These United States," in the September issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, reports the St. Louis *Star* of August 24, 1929.

"The Missourian is essentially rooted to the Missouri soil; he is the one white American I have met of peasant-like qualities.

"But Missouri is not only one of the most prosperous, but also one of the most beautiful states in the Union; in the fall its scenery must be of an entrancing charm.

"Accordingly, the psychic atmosphere of Missouri cities is even today one of harmony, which makes one think of France, as opposed to Germany. To its peculiar gayety St. Louis owes its singular attractive power."

The G. A. R. of Douglas county met for the last time at Ava on October 21, 1929, and disbanded. Its flag and all records were turned over to the American Legion post. There were less than twenty members.—From the Kansas City *Star*, October 21, 1929.

Dr. C. O. West of New Cambria, Macon county, owns one of the finest private collections of curios and antiques anywhere in the state. Firearms, antique household utensils, stamps, valuable old papers, Indian trophies and weapons are only a small portion of the curious and priceless mass of material that has been gathered and preserved by Dr. West.—Jefferson City, Missouri, August, 1929.

The covered bridge over Flat Creek, near Sedalia, which was built in 1881 is offered for sale, according to the Kansas City *Star* of August 25, 1929. A picture of the bridge is given.

Tom Chewning and his son, Woodrow, dug up forty-four Spanish dollars in a corn field near Benton, Missouri, recently, reports the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of August 27, 1929. Some of the coins date as far back as 1775.

A piano which began its service more than 100 years ago on a farm east of Liberty, Mo., has lasted through two generations of the family which purchased it and still is in excellent condition at the home of Miss Ella Melone, former Osage county (Oklahoma) superintendent of schools. . . . Originally the instrument was purchased in 1820 by Sam Oliver, who lived east of Liberty.—From the *Kansas City Times*, July 24, 1929.

A picture of an imprint of a starfish in a fragment of limestone found near Noel, Missouri, appears in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of November 11, 1929. Its age is estimated at perhaps 3,000,000 years.

The recovery of the wreckage of the Uncle Sam, used as a gambling boat on the Missouri river, is described in the *Kansas City Star* of November 8, 1929. The boat sank May 18, 1910, at the foot of Grand Avenue, in Kansas City.

The Southeast Missouri State Teachers College sponsored a two-day tour of the Arcadia country and the land of the big springs, beginning November 1, 1929. The party was conducted by Allan Hinchey who arranged to visit many points of historical interest.

Workmen on the River Des Peres sewer in St. Louis have been requested to look for signs of the pioneer Jesuit settlement of Des Peres which stood on the north bank of the river a short distance from its junction with the Mississippi 200 years ago, reports the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of October 20, 1929. It was established in 1700, 64 years before the city of St. Louis was founded, and endured for about three years, attained a maximum population of about 600, most of whom were Indians. It was abandoned when the pioneer missionaries moved across the Mississippi to Cahokia. Although Des Peres settlement was forgotten the name Des Peres which means "of the Fathers," clung to the meandering river.

A pageant depicting the historical development of St. Louis and Missouri was presented in the St. Louis Arena November 15 and 16, 1929, before approximately 20,000 persons. It was sponsored by the Child Conservation Conference, and its aim was to raise funds for needy school children. The cast included 4,000 persons. Mrs. Frank S. Leach was author and director of the pageant.

The history of St. Louis from Laclede to Lindbergh, with an imaginative portrayal of the prehistoric mound builders and a fanciful glimpse into the future, will be produced in the streets of St. Louis, Tuesday evening, October 8, in the fifty-first Veiled Prophet parade. "Traditions of St. Louis" is the broad title under which the historical theme will be developed.—From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, September 22, 1929.

An old negro cabin, occupied long before the Civil war has been reconstructed and improved by the students of Iberia Academy and is used as a vocational department where the weaving of rugs and coverlets is taught.—From the Jefferson City, *Missouri*, October, 1929.

One of the oldest landmarks in Boone county, the Huntsdale grist mill, is to be torn down. The mill has not been in operation in recent years. E. T. Wilks of Rocheport is the owner. The mill was built seventy-five years ago and in its day ground much of the flour and meal used in that locality.—From the Kansas City *Star*, July 28, 1929.

The tearing down of the old grade school recently in Princeton, Mercer county, vividly recalled to older residents of that city the assassination of President Garfield. It was while the structure was being erected forty-eight years ago the President was assassinated. When news of the attack on the President first came workmen laid two rows of black brick. When the President died two additional rows were added.

The black mourning strips encircled the building and were set off by red brick, of which the structure was comprised principally. Among those who attended the old school was Arthur M. Hyde, former governor and now secretary of agriculture in President Hoover's cabinet. The building contained a cupola which long served as a guiding mark to travelers entering Princeton. The structure was condemned as unsafe.—From the Kansas City *Star*, July 28, 1929.

The *Miller County Autogram*, published at Tuscumbia, is the first paper in Missouri to be printed on cornstalk paper, according to the Kansas City *Times* of May 13, 1929.

The oldest living graduate of the University of Missouri is Thomas Benton King, 91, of Stephenville, Texas, according to the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of October 14, 1929. Mr. King, the son of Austin A. King, governor of Missouri from 1848 to 1852, was born in Richmond, Missouri, April 12, 1838, and was graduated from the University July 4, 1858.

Mr. A. P. Borger, the man who founded Borger, Texas, only a few years ago, was a former resident of Carthage, Missouri. He left his farm, eleven miles southeast of Carthage, and went to the Texas Panhandle during the boom period. Although the immediate prosperity of the section was due to the oil found there Mr. Borger devoted his interest to real estate. He successfully created the town of Borger, and subsequently invested in other boom sections meeting with equally good fortune. His holdings now include banks, elevators, farm lands, and urban real estate. The account of his sensational rise is given in the Kansas City *Journal-Post* of October 8, 1929.

John G. Lonsdale, president of the Mercantile-Commerce Bank and Trust Company of St. Louis, is the fifth St. Louisan to head the American Bankers' Association, a position to which he was elected October 2 at the San Francisco convention.—St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, October 3, 1929.

Editor the St. Louis *Star*: Speaking of men from Missouri who have attained world-wide fame, we might mention three off-hand: "Mark Twain," Gen. Pershing and Dr. Shapley. The two first are well known to us all; their names are on the tongue of almost every school child in Missouri. But how few have ever heard of Dr. Shapley? And yet he is regarded as one of the most brilliant astronomers in the world today. Dr. Harlow Shapley, director of Harvard Observatory, was born at Nashville, Mo., in 1885. From 1914 to 1921 he was on the staff of Mt. Wilson Observatory where he began his epoch-making work on star clusters. He is well known in scientific circles all over the world and generally acknowledged to be the foremost astronomer of this age. —Edward Brown.—From the St. Louis *Star* of October 30, 1929.

One of the few remaining "sixteenth sections" in Butler county is to be sold to the highest bidder in Poplar Bluff on December 6, 1929, reports the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of November 22.

When the State of Missouri was founded and the original land grants to the State were recorded, every sixteenth section in each township was set aside as school land and remained the property of the school district in which it was located. Income derived from this land went to the school fund. Under the law the property could be sold on petition of a sufficient number of taxpayers, but funds thus derived could not be spent. The law required such funds to be loaned out and the interest to go to the school district.

The section to be sold next month is located in the south part of Butler county and is composed of undeveloped land. At the last meeting of the County Court a petition was presented asking that the land be sold, and the Court order followed. Only a few "sixteenth sections" remain in the entire State. Another one is located in the hill land northwest of Poplar Bluff.

Anglum, Mo., the postoffice address of Lambert-St. Louis Field, the municipal airport, will become Robertson, Mo., on November 1, says a communication received Thursday

by Thomas Bryant, Anglum postmaster, from the office of the postmaster general.

The change in the name of Anglum, a station on the Wabash railroad, is in recognition of the services of Maj. William B. Robertson and his brothers, Frank H. and Dan, the first commercial flyers operating from the field. The residents of Anglum, which has a population of about 400 persons, circulated a petition recently, stating that no traditions were attached to the name Anglum and asking that the village be renamed in honor of the Robertson brothers who "put it on the map."

The Robertsons, World war flyers, began operating at the present municipal airport in 1921, shortly after the tract had been leased by Maj. Albert Bond Lambert, in whose honor the field is named. Maj. Robertson is now president of the Curtis-Robertson Airplane Manufacturing Co., makers of Robin planes. Frank H. and Dan Robertson operate the Robertson Airplane Service Co.—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 12, 1929.

The highway beautification organization of Linn county, located at Brookfield, was awarded first prize in a State highway beautification contest sponsored by the Missouri State Highway Department, at a meeting held in Louisiana November 3. The respective order of competing organizations was: St. Francois, Chariton, Greene, Cole and Lewis. There are 40 county organizations in the state, and 16 of these presented reports to the meeting. It is planned to organize a state body for highway beautification, and Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society, George A. Pickens, secretary of the Missouri Chamber of Commerce, and F. H. Sayers of the State Highway Department, were chosen as members of the committee to formulate the plan for such a body.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 4, 1929.

A Missouri Frontier Lodge, the Story of "Franklin Union Lodge No. 7" at Old Franklin, Missouri, 1822-1832, by Ray V. Denslow, grand recorder of the Knights Templar,

Grand Commandery of Missouri, is a noteworthy contribution of 1929 to Missouri history and biography.

This lodge, founded on the Missouri frontier, and in the heart of the Boone's Lick Country, had the distinction of producing three Grand Masters, one of whom became Governor of Missouri during the Civil War. During its ten years of existence it identified itself with the romance of the Santa Fe Trail, for it was in Franklin that many overland trains were outfitted.

Not only does the record of this lodge contain matters of interest to the fraternity, but it also reflects the spirit of the community in which it was located. In this case, the breakdown of the Franklin Union Lodge No. 7 and its consequent suspension bespeak the changing character of the Boone's Lick settlers. Those who brought the ideals of the order to this frontier region moved and became pioneers in the Santa Fe trade, or as educators and lawyers took an active part in the development of surrounding communities and towns, or as politicians became influential and were called to St. Louis, St. Charles (the early capital of the State), and later to Jefferson City. The town itself was finally abandoned and a new town as well as a new order established.

The authoritative and carefully written biographical sketches of Hamilton R. Gamble, Civil War governor, Judge John F. Ryland, and Dr. Hardage Lane, all of whom became Grand Masters, attest the worth of this work. The list of members of this lodge, which is appended, and the accompanying biographical data reveal valuable information.

This history, published by the Masonic Service Association of Missouri, is intended to inspire other Missouri lodges to put their histories into printed form.

A Missouri State History of the Daughters of the American Revolution has been recently published by the Missouri Society of this organization. The book, which was compiled and edited by Mrs. Frank S. Leach, official historian of the State Society, contains historical sketches of all D. A. R. chapters in Missouri, and will no doubt prove a helpful source of reference on the activities of this patriotic organiza-

tion. Besides the accounts of all Missouri chapters and biographical sketches and photographs of their regents, the volume includes an account of the National Society, as well as portraits of both the national and state officers. The various patriotic enterprises conceived and carried out by the Missouri Daughters are interestingly set forth. Scattered throughout the work also are brief descriptions of the higher educational institutions of the State, of a number of the oldest and most historic towns, a list of eminent Missourians, and numerous other items of historical interest. The book is a quarto volume well printed and bound. A general contents page and an index by chapters and towns is appended. Numerous illustrations form an attractive feature of the book.

PERSONALS

CYRUS NEWTON BANTA: Born near Burlington, Iowa, December 7, 1850; died in Berryman, Missouri, October 19, 1929. He came with his parents to Missouri in 1867, and lived in Jefferson county. For several years he taught school in Franklin and Jefferson counties, and for a short period also taught in Iowa. He was graduated from Jones Business College, and engaged in merchandising in St. Louis until the spring of 1883 when he moved to Osage, now Berryman. Later he engaged in business in Sedalia, but returned to Berryman and served as postmaster for many years. In 1906 he was elected representative of Washington county, and served during the session of the 44th General Assembly.

TOM P. BARNETT: Born in St. Louis, Missouri, February 11, 1870; died in Boston, Massachusetts, September 24, 1929. He was graduated from St. Louis University, and shortly thereafter entered the office of his father who was an architect. He subsequently designed the Jefferson and Marquette Hotels, Temple Israel and other notable St. Louis buildings. Later he designed the City Club Building, the Arcade Building and others of prominence. He formed his own architectural company in 1913 and worked in a nation wide field. He was the youngest architect to serve on the World's Fair Commission. During the last twenty-five years he

spent much time in painting and sketching, achieving as much distinction in this field as in that of architecture. Many St. Louis galleries have examples of his work, and the Missouri State Capitol has as one of its mural paintings, a work on lead mining, from Mr. Barnett's brush.

MORRIS FREDERICK BELL: Born in Washington county, Maryland, August 18, 1849; died in Fulton, Missouri, August 2, 1929. He came to Missouri at the age of nineteen after completing a course at Duff's College, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He became an architect, builder and construction engineer, being employed on many buildings of state institutions and Missouri colleges. He served on the staffs of Governors Stone and Stephens, being adjutant general of Missouri during the Spanish-American War, and was appointed assistant adjutant general of the United States by President McKinley. He founded the Fulton exchange of the Bell Telephone Company in 1882, and served as its manager until his death. He also founded the telephone exchange at Nevada, Missouri, and was a member of the Telephone Pioneers of America. He had been grand commander of the Knights Templar of Missouri.

CAMPBELL ORRICK BISHOP: Born in Union, Missouri, December 28, 1842; died in St. Louis, Missouri, August 26, 1929. He moved to St. Louis with his parents at the age of five. He was a member of the first graduating class of Central High School, in 1858, and was graduated from Westminster College at Fulton in 1862. He studied law in Louisville, and returned to St. Louis in 1867 to begin practice. He became assistant circuit attorney in 1883, served until 1897, and then took up private practice. In 1901 he was again assistant circuit attorney, and in 1905 Governor Folk appointed him circuit judge. He was chosen to fill the then new Juvenile Court assignment. Subsequently he was judge advocate of the Police Department, a position which he held until 1921. He lectured on legal subjects to both St. Louis University and Washington University classes. He was widely known as one of the organizers of the St. Louis Browns baseball team in 1874. He wrote the constitution which was

later used by the National Baseball League when it was organized.

JOHN HOMER BOTHWELL: Born in Maysville, Illinois, November 20, 1848; died in Sedalia, Missouri, August 4, 1929. He was educated in Clay City, Illinois, the State University of Indiana, and the law college at Albany, New York. He moved to Sedalia November 1, 1871, and became a broker and lawyer. In 1873 he became assistant prosecuting attorney and served until 1876. In 1892 he was acting judge of the circuit court. For forty years he was active in Republican politics, serving as chairman of the state convention in 1892 and 1904, and as delegate to the national convention in 1896 and 1928. He served Pettis county in the state legislature during the 35th, 38th, 41st and 42nd General Assemblies, and was a delegate to the state Constitutional Convention in 1922-23. He was a former member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

WALTER BROWNLEE: Born at Linneus, Missouri, July 24, 1859; died at Brookfield, Missouri, August 21, 1929. He received his education in the public schools of Brookfield and the State Teachers College at Kirksville. He served as representative of Linn county in the 46th and 47th General Assemblies, and as senator in the 52nd, 53rd and 54th General Assemblies. He had been president of the Brownlee Banking Company, of Brookfield, for twenty years.

ARTHUR BULLARD: Born in St. Joseph, Missouri, December 9, 1879; died in Geneva, Switzerland, September 10, 1929. His early interest in philanthropy developed into his life work, and brought about his work in a settlement and in the Juvenile Court and the Prison Association of New York City. It prompted his later interest and service in Russia for many years before as well as during the World war. He was the Geneva representative of the American League of Nations Association, and assistant to Norman H. Davis. He was secretary to the American delegation at the World Economic Conference in 1927. He was widely known as a newspaper man and author, and was formerly chief of the Far Eastern Division of the Department of State.

JOSEPH A. CORBY: Born at Cincinnati, Ohio, July 25, 1847; died at St. Joseph, Missouri, October 19, 1929. At the age of sixteen he enlisted in the Union army, and fought during the Civil war. Upon his discharge he moved to Memphis, Tennessee, with his parents, and in the spring of 1867, moved to St. Joseph, Missouri. He was assistant city engineer from 1867 to 1868, and engaged in the abstract business from 1868 until 1873. During the next two years he owned and published the *St. Joseph Gazette*. He built the first telephone system in St. Joseph in 1879, and two years later built the telephone line from St. Joseph to Atchison. He also built the first telephone exchange in Atchison and helped to organize the Kansas Telephone Company. In 1878 he built the first street railway line in St. Joseph, and subsequently organized the Citizens' Street Railway. He also built and managed the first electric plant in St. Joseph and built the Pacific Mutual Telegraph line there. In 1891 he constructed the first electric railway in Denver, and later sold his interest. In 1910 he became president of the Corby Building Company, of St. Joseph. He was captain of the Saxon rifles and lieutenant colonel of the 4th regiment, Missouri National Guard. In 1896 he was elected colonel of the regiment and called for volunteers to fight in the Spanish-American war. He also served on various civic bodies, as well as the State Board of Charities and Corrections during Governor Gardner's administration. He was a member of the executive committee of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

FRED W. FLEMING: Born in Aroostock county, Maine, (now in New Brunswick, Canada), August 9, 1866; died in Chicago, Illinois, November 14, 1929. He was graduated from Ricker Classical Institute, Houlton, Maine, in 1885, and moved to Kansas City the following year. He began his business career as a bookkeeper and accountant, later engaging in real estate business. From 1894 to 1900 he engaged in the job printing business. From 1904 to 1914 he served the Kansas City Life Insurance Company in various capacities, including the positions of secretary and manager, vice-president and chairman of the board. He disposed of his

interests in the company in 1918. During the World war he served as chairman of the war finance committee in Kansas City, and held other responsible positions. In 1921 he was appointed receiver of the Kansas City Railways Company, and held this position until 1926. During the Spanish-American war he successively held every rank from enlisted man to colonel in the 3rd regiment of infantry, Missouri National Guard. In 1910 he became vice-president of the National Irrigation Congress and also served as president of the Trans-Mississippi Congress, an agricultural organization. He became president of the Central Surety and Insurance Company when it was organized July 1, 1926. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

CHARLES COLLIER HARVEY: Born in Campbell county, Virginia, September 8, 1840; died in St. Louis, Missouri, August 15, 1929. In 1869 he came to Glasgow, Missouri. During the Civil war he was a member of the "Lynchburg Grays," and Company A, 11th Virginia Infantry, and participated in many major engagements. At the time of his death he was paymaster-general of the United Confederate Veterans.

WILLIAM HOEBER: Born in St. Louis, Missouri, May 7, 1869; died in Wellston, Missouri, August 10, 1929. He served as representative of the first district of St. Louis county in the 43rd and 45th General Assemblies, and was active in Republican political circles in Missouri.

MARION A. MURPHY: Born near Indianapolis, Indiana, October 21, 1856; died in DeFuniak Springs, Florida, September 13, 1929. He received his education in the public schools of Indiana and at Whittier College, Salem, Iowa. He was a reporter, city editor and managing editor of the *Terre Haute Express* for some time, and later became a writer for the A. N. Kellogg Newspaper Company of St. Louis, now the Western Newspaper Union. He served as representative in the 41st and 42nd General Assemblies from St. Louis. He lived in Florida during the last ten years of his life.

EDWIN B. PARKER: Born in Shelby county, Missouri, September 7, 1868; died in Washington, D. C., October 30,

1929. He attended the University of Texas and subsequently practiced law at Houston. During the World war he served as a dollar-a-year man, and assisted in the organization of the war industries board of which he was a member. He served as chairman of the United States Liquidation Commission after the Armistice and had been arbiter of the Mixed Claims Commission since 1923.

EMIL P. ROSENBERGER: Born at High Hill, Missouri, May 26, 1879; died in St. Louis, Missouri, November 22, 1929. He was educated in the public schools of Montgomery county, Central Wesleyan College, at Warrenton, Christian Brothers College, St. Louis, and the St. Louis Law School. Following his graduation from the latter he practiced law for many years at Montgomery City. In 1904 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Montgomery county and served for two terms. Later he was elected probate judge of the county. He was chosen as the county's representative in the 45th General Assembly. He moved to St. Louis in 1924 and became a member of the law firm of Rassieur and Goodwin. At the time of his death he was a member of the firm of G.eensfelder, Rosenberger and Grand.

ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL: Born in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1870; died in St. Louis, Missouri, October 12, 1929. He was educated in Central High School, St. Louis, and after his graduation entered business with his father. In 1901 he founded the *Modern View*, a weekly devoted to the cultural and religious interests of Judaism, and served as its editor and business manager until his death. He was the author of three books, two concerning a world tour and the third a volume of stories, verses, and sketches. He was an editorial member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

VICTOR CLARENCE VAUGHAN: Born at Mount Airy, Randolph county, Missouri, October 27, 1851; died at Richmond, Virginia, November 21, 1929. He was dean of the department of surgery at the University of Michigan from 1891 to 1921. He served in both the Spanish-American and the World wars, acting as major and surgeon of the 33rd Michigan Volunteer Infantry in the former and as colonel

during the latter. He was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal for his work in the World war. He was president of the Association of American Physicians in 1908-09, president of the American Medical Association in 1914-15, member of the National Academy of Sciences and other organizations. He was a Knight of the Legion of Honor. He was the author of several books and more than 150 original papers.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

LOUIS HOUCK, "EMPIRE BUILDER"

From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, June 1, 1929.

Thirty years ago the shrill whistle of "Old No. 2," the pioneer locomotive of the Houck lines, as it lumbered through the dense forests and tangled swamps of the alluvial valley of southeast Missouri, marked the beginning of progress in what was destined to be a rich agricultural section of the United States.

The history of railroad building in southeast Missouri had been one failure after another. Hundreds of companies had been organized to build railroads. Stock was sold and in some instances construction started, but for lack of capital, bad management or numerous other reasons not a single road ever was completed.

In 1869 a company was organized in Cape Girardeau known as the Cape Girardeau and State Line Railroad. This road was to extend south from Cape Girardeau to the Arkansas line. The company started off with a large public subscription, the city of Cape Girardeau taking \$150,000 in bonds and the township of Cape Girardeau a like amount. Through bad management the funds were exhausted before a single mile of the road was completed. Former Governor Fletcher then attempted to reorganize the old project under the name of the Missouri and Texas Railroad Company. Bonds were issued for \$1,500,000 to be secured by the property. The bonds failed to sell and the road, like its many predecessors, failed.

It was at this point that Louis Houck became interested in the defunct Cape Girardeau State Line company. He entered into a contract with the owners of the old road, who still owned the roadbed, agreeing to complete the line by January, 1881. He was successful in carrying out his contract, and the title of the road passed to him.

This was the beginning of a long list of successful ventures by Houck in building railroads through the swamps of southeast Missouri. Although he followed a long line of dismal failures, he never started a road that was not completed or entered into a contract that was not fulfilled. It is said that in one instance, after agreeing to put one of his trains into town on a certain date, he found that he did not have enough steel to reach the town and that it would be impossible to get more before his time had expired. He took up the track behind him and laid it in front of the engine and ran the train into town on time.

In 1901, Houck obtained a controlling interest in a road between Campbell and Kennett and from Kennett by way of Senath to the Holligan farm on the A. R. Byrd land, near the present site of Bucoda, or Byrds, Mo. This line soon was completed from Byrds to Leachville, Ark.

The St. Louis & Gulf, from Kennett to Caruthersville, was completed in 1894. The Little River bottom from Kennett to Owl City had been crossed by a railroad and Houck had added another successful railroad venture to his long list of accomplishments which gained for him the title of Empire Builder in southeast Missouri. This territory long has been proud to recall the story of his efforts.

At the time of the completion of this road, the alluvial valley of southeast Missouri was a vast waste of swamp land. Farming was engaged in only to the extent of supplying the needs of the family table. The principal occupations were hunting, trapping, and fishing.

It was soon after the completion of the St. Louis & Gulf line to Leachville that "Old No. 2" was retired in the roundhouse yards in Kennett. She had served her day and carved her name in the history of southeast Missouri.

In 1902 all the Houck roads were incorporated under the name of St. Louis & Gulf Railroad Company. Shortly after their consolidation they were sold to the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad Company and constitute a large part of the present Frisco system in this section of the state.

Southeast Missouri also is indebted to Houck for his ability to describe the resources of this valley to the state at large through articles in papers and magazines. He spent much of his time and money collecting material relating to southeast Missouri. His *History of Missouri* from the earliest time to the formation of the state government, together with *The Spanish Regime*, an account of the Spanish rule, containing a translation of all the old state documents relating to the government of Missouri during the Spanish period, are works representing years of study.

In the early 70's when Cape Girardeau was making all but a losing effort to locate the State Normal School there, an offer to buy the bonds was made by Houck and A. D. Leach. On October 8, 1873, Cape Girardeau was selected and the new building erected there in 1875. Houck was made a member of the board of regents in 1886 and elected president of the board in 1888, which position he held until his death.

MISSOURI'S PIONEER TELEPHONE MANAGER
From the Kansas City *Star*, July 14, 1929.

Few men have contributed as much to the development of the telephone as has Charles McDaniel. Probably as many features of the modern telephone are due to the efforts of this pioneer as to the inventive genius of Alexander Graham Bell. The first telephone exchange in Missouri and the second in the world was constructed by Mr. McDaniel at Hannibal in 1878. His second switchboard was made in Boston, at 109 Court street in the laboratory of Alexander Bell and Thomas A. Watson. The same year McDaniel made a set of receivers—the first receivers ever used in telephone transmission. Up to that time the mouthpiece also was used as a receiver. The set of receivers made by McDaniel resembles very closely the hand receiver in use today. One

of the originals is now in the historical exhibit of the Southwestern Bell at St. Louis. The other is in the possession of a son, Charles T. McDaniel, who is district manager of Southwestern Bell at Fort Scott, Kan.

A short time after building the receivers Mr. McDaniel designed and secured a patent on the single-cord exchange board. These switchboards were manufactured for him in the Western Electric plant in Chicago. Two boards were made at once. One was installed at Topeka and another at St. Joseph. These first switchboards are much like the country town switchboards still in existence.

Many of the features of the modern telephone which were worked out by Mr. McDaniel were used in his own exchanges and he made no effort to have them patented. He had been using what was called a "rolled condenser" seven and one-half years before it was patented, and he had used a common return at Hannibal two years before it was patented by others.

Sitting in a comfortable office on the twenty-fourth floor of the new Telephone building here yesterday, Mr. McDaniel gave a word picture of the miraculous growth of the telephone industry in Kansas City.

The first exchange was established here in 1879 at Fifth and Delaware streets, on the second floor. In 1882 the Missouri and Kansas Telephone Company purchased the interest of Mr. McDaniel in the Hannibal exchange and hired him to superintend their company, with headquarters in Kansas City. When he took charge of the exchange there were 278 subscribers. In 1884 there were 718 paid subscribers. The total earnings for July of that year soared to \$4,030.80 and the net income was \$2,501.61.

In October, 1885, the first telephone message from outside Kansas City was received here at the office of the Pacific Mutual Telegraph Company. George M. Myers, manager of the Pacific Mutual, and Mr. McDaniel talked to St. Louis.

JIM BRIDGER'S MONUMENT

Excerpt from an article containing the reminiscences of Dr. Edwin R. Heath, in the *Kansas City Star*, July 7, 1929.

Of the thousands who go each year to Mount Washington cemetery, few pause as they pass a great gray granite monument on the main road running north and south, where, should they pause, they might read the inscription:

James Bridger

1804-1881

Celebrated as a hunter, trapper, fur-trader and guide. Discovered Great Salt Lake 1824. The South Pass 1827. Visited Yellowstone Lake and Geysers 1830. Founded Ft. Bridger 1843. Opened overland route by Bridger's Pass to Great Salt Lake. Was guide for U. S. exploring expeditions. Albert Sidney Johnston's army in 1857, and G. M. Dodge in surveys and Indian campaigns 1856-66. This monument is erected as a tribute to his pioneer work by Maj. Gen. G. M. Dodge.

James Bridger was buried in Kansas City's cemetery because Kansas City was his home. His body was removed to Mount Washington cemetery December 5, 1904, from its original resting place in a tangle of brambles on the farm of Stubbins Watts, one mile north of the little town of Dallas, which is known to Kansas Citians as the spot where the old grist mill now stands.

ORIGIN OF SNI-A-BAR

By G. C. Broadhead in the Kansas City *Review of Science and Industry*, May, 1881, pp. 23-24.

Many strange associations have clustered around this name. And many, not knowing, believed the "Sny" hills were covered with the densest brush thickets in which dwelt men wild and fierce.

The stream known generally as Sni-a-bar originates from many small tributaries in the southeast part of Jackson and southwest part of Lafayette extending across in an east and west direction about ten miles. The Great and Little Sni-a-bar empty into the Missouri river just east of Wellington.

Lewis and Clark in their expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1804 speak of passing the mouth of *Eau Beau* or Clear Water creek, where two streams enter the Missouri near each other and about fifteen miles east of Fire Prairie creek.

In *Gazetteer of Missouri*, by Lewis Beck, 1823, mention is made of Snybar creek, a small stream running through Lillard (former name of Jackson and Lafayette) county and gives proper spelling as *Chenal Ebert* which, translated from the French means "Ebert's Channel," or slough.

Mitchell's (1835) map of Missouri has this stream marked C. aux Heberts, about the same as Beck.

Wetmore in his *Gazetteer of Missouri*, 1837, has it *Schuyle Aber*, and defines it thus: *Chuyte*, a German word, meaning "cut off" and relates how an old trapper named Aber came to the mouth of the stream and mistook it for a "cut off" or slough of the river and steered his boat up some distance before discovering his mistake.

Long, in his expedition to the Rocky Mountains, 1823, speaks of the Little and Great *Cheny au Barre*, and says that a hunter named *Au Barre* was formerly lost there for some time, passing up one stream and then another, mistaking them for the Missouri. From these names, whichever may have been correct, the transition is easy to Sniabar, or Snybar, still shortening to Sny. (See also *Missouri Historical Review*, vol. 19, pp. 361f.)

INDIAN TRADITIONS RESPECTING THEIR ORIGIN

By Rev. T. L. Lewis, of Bolivar, Missouri, in the Kansas City *Review of Science and Industry*, March 1881, Vol. 4, pp. 665-666.

Almost every tribe has its own peculiar idea of the "origin of man." Many of the South American Indians, as well as most of our Southwestern

tribes, represent, in their traditions, their fathers as issuing from caves, springs or lakes, which accounts for the peculiar veneration they have for springs, caves, and lakes.

The Mandans and Minnetaries, on the Missouri river, say they came out of a large cavern.

DeSmet tells us of a tradition among the Blackfeet which is romantic as it is peculiar. There are two lakes, the Lake of Men and the Lake of Women. From the one man had his origin, the other woman. Upon the first meeting of the sexes the men struck up a sharp bargain with the women, in which the latter were outwitted and reduced to perpetual drudgery. The men proposed to become their protectors on the one condition that they would assume all the household care and drudgery.

THE NEW MADRID EARTHQUAKE

From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, November 4, 1929.

A vivid eyewitness description of the great earthquakes of 1811 and 1812 and the consequent sinking of Reelfoot Lake, known the country over as a fishing and hunting resort, was recently discovered in Hickman, Kentucky, among the papers of the late F. E. Case, who had been in business in Hickman more than 50 years at the time of his death last spring. The account is contained in a letter from the Rev. E. Bryan, a minister at New Madrid, Mo., at the time of the earthquakes, to the Rev. Lorenzo Dow. . . . The letter follows:

"Dear Brother: I have just received your kind letter, written some three or four weeks ago, requesting me to give you a description of the late horrible visitation of Providence and the sinking of Reelfoot Lake, in this section. The morning of December 15, 1811, was cloudy and a dense fog prevailed, and towards nightfall the heavens showed signs of distress. On the following morning, the sixteenth, about 3 o'clock a. m., we felt the shock of an earthquake, accompanied by a rumbling noise, resembling the distant firing of a cannon, which was followed in a few minutes by the complete saturation of the atmosphere with sulphurous vapor. The moon was shining brilliantly, but the sulphurous vapor caused the earth to be wrapped in absolute darkness. The wailing of the inhabitants, the panic of fowls and stampede of beasts, the noise of falling timber, the roaring of the Mississippi, the current of which was retrograded for a few minutes—formed a scene too appalling to conceive of.

"Then until daylight a number of lighter shocks occurred, one that was more violent and severe than the first one and the terror which prevailed after the first shock was now even worse than before. The people fled hither and yon, supposing that there was less danger at a distance from the river, which was boiling, foaming and roaring terrifically. Men, women and children gave up in despair, some praying and others fainting, so great was their fear.

"There were light shocks each day until January 23, 1812, when one as hard as the first occurred, followed by the same phenomena. From this time until February 4 the earth was in continual agitation, visibly waving as a gentle sea. That day a shock was felt almost twice as severe as the others, so that it was called the 'hard shock.' The earth was transformed into total darkness and the chickens went back to roost, the cows mooed and the frightened horses pitifully neighed. At first the Mississippi river seemed to recede from its banks and its waters, gathering up like a mountain, leaving for a short period of time many boats which were passing down the river, on the bottom of the river, during which time the crews escaped to land safely. The river rose 10 to 15 feet perpendicularly, expanding as it were; at the same time the banks were overflowed with a retrograde current. The river receded within its banks again with such violence that it took with it whole groves of young cottonwood trees and much cattle and stock.

"A great many fish were left on the banks, being unable to keep up with the water, and an old canoe, antique in construction, was washed ashore. The river was a mass of floating wrecks of boats, and it is said that one was wrecked in which there was a lady and six children, all of whom were lost.

"In the hard shocks described the earth was horribly lacerated—the surface was from time to time covered over of uneven depths by the sand which issued from the fissures. There were two the past winter, which were made in great numbers all over the country, some of which closed up immediately after they had sent forth their sand and water. In many places, however, there was a substance resembling coal thrown up with the sand. It is impossible to say what the depth of the fissures or irregular breaks were. The site of New Madrid was settled down at least 15 feet and not more than half a mile below the town there does not appear to be any alteration of the river, but back from the river a short distance the numerous large ponds or lakes, which covered a greater part of the country, were totally dried up. The beds of some of them bulge above their former banks several feet.

"The most remarkable feature of all the entire disturbance, which was not generally known for some months afterwards was the discovery of a huge lake on the Tennessee side of the Mississippi, upwards of 35 miles long and from one-half to eight miles wide. This lake was later called Reelfoot Lake. There are places in it the bottom of which has never been found, though many efforts have been made to ascertain the depth of these places.

"The lake has communication with the Mississippi river at both ends, and it is conjectured that it will not be many years before the principal part, if not the whole, of the Mississippi will pass that way. In the last year or so an herb, resembling moss, has litterly (*sic*) covered the surface of the lake and during the winter months wild fowls, such as ducks, geese,

cranes, etc., winter on the lake and eat the moss as food. Deer and other animals seem to enjoy the place also.

"Where this lake was formed was formerly the Indian's hunting grounds and also where they held their annual war dances; but since the terrible visitation of the earthquake it is a rare thing that one ventures into that vicinity.

"One circumstance worthy of mention is: This section was open to severe thunder, but for some time previous to the first shocks there was no thunder at all and but very little since.

"Respectfully yours, E. Bryan."

This remarkable letter, which was written at New Madrid in 1826, presents some new facts concerning the earthquakes that formed Reelfoot Lake.

AN OLD TIME DANCE CALL

From the Kingston, Arkansas, *Ozark Life*, October-November, 1929.

'S'lute yer pardner and let her go;
 Balance all and do-se-do.
 Swing your gal and run away;
 Right and left the gents sashay.
 Gents to the right and swing or cheat;
 On to the next gal and repeat.
 Balance next and don't be shy;
 Swing yer pard and swing her high.
 Bunch tha gals and circle round;
 Whack yer feet until they bound.
 Form a basket and break away;
 Swing around and all get gay.
 All gents left and balance all;
 Lift yer hoofs and let 'em fall;
 Swing yer opposite, swing again;
 Ketch the sagehens if you kin.
 Back to partner, do-se-do;
 All join hands and off you go.
 Gents salute yer little sweets;
 Hitch and promenade to seats."

EVOLUTION OF THE NAME "OSAGE"

From the Jefferson City, Missouri, October, 1929. Reprinted from *Tales of the Osage River Country*, by Jean Graham.

The name "Osage" is a corruption by French traders of Wa-zha-zhe, the name by which they were generally known, altho it was a name of a subdivision of the tribe. The story of their origin was handed down in cryptic form by the ancient No-ho-zhi-ga (the Seers) and their idea seemed to be that life was conceived between the two great fructifying forces, the

sky and the earth. They therefore divided the tribe into two parts, one representing the sky, called Tsi-zhu, and the other representing the earth, called Ho-ga. They required the men of one division to select wives from the other, thus insuring the perpetuation of life in bodily form. The great division of the earth was subdivided, one part representing the dry land, called Hoga, and the other relating to the waters of the earth, called Wa-zha-zhe, and it is thus that we get the tribal name.

A PIONEER DOCTOR'S INSTRUMENTS

From the Kansas City *Star*, September 22, 1929.

A trip to the dentist or the doctor today is not what it was when Mrs. Jeanette McCoy Bass, 87 years old and all her life a resident of Kansas City, was a girl. Dr. William Parker, father of William Parker, 305 Lawrence avenue, was the doctor who waited on Mrs. Bass, then Miss McCoy. Not so long ago the son of the pioneer doctor ran across Miss McCoy's name on his father's books and, knowing the lady, asked if she remembered being "bled and cupped, \$4" by his father. She did. It was not an experience to be easily forgotten. And she remembered having Dr. Parker "hoist" a tooth out for her. Pull is not the proper word.

Mr. Parker still has his father's dental "turning iron" and his lancet machine which was used in bleeding operations. All story books of Washington's time tell of the first President being bled and cupped.

"I had pleurisy or something," Mrs. Bass recalled. "Dr. Parker decided I would have to be bled. He put a brass box to my left side, pressed hard down on it, pulled a trigger and twelve sharp knives slashed into my flesh. Then he burned a piece of alcohol-saturated cotton in a small glass, or cup. This drove the air out. While still aflame but expiring, this was applied over the twelve little incisions which had been made in my side. As the air was exhausted in the cup and no more could get in, the cup 'sucked' blood. That was how they bled us. I do not know how much they took from me, but it did no good. I had to use poultices after that."

The tooth extraction was more successful. There was no such thing as "freezing" or gas in those days.

"I got in his chair, opened my mouth, grasped the sides of the chair firmly and was told not to move. The doctor laid this iron thing flat in my mouth, let the loose hook engage under the tooth, just where it reached the gum, gave a twist and out it came."

The "turning iron" works on the principle of ice tongs, the greater the resistance the greater the grip. It could not break the jaw, as while the "loose end" lifted, the main iron pressed down. The doctor knew the patient would throw the head the way the turning iron was turning. "But he got ready for that," Mrs. Bass tells, "he got an arm hold on my head that would hold a steer."

The lancet box used in cupping is about two inches square, brass, with one end slotted to contain twelve concealed knives. A trigger expels these by "sweeping" them upward and forward at the same time. Six move in one direction, six in the other. The blades are as thin as those used in safety razors. (Pictures of each of these instruments accompany the article.)

MISSOURI SOLDIERS OF FLORIDA WAR DISCHARGED

From the Jefferson City, *Jeffersonian Republican*, May 26, 1838.

General Order
Headquarters of the Militia,
Adjutant Gen'l's. Office,
City of Jefferson,
May 23, 1838.

The Act of Congress entitled "An act authorizing the President of the United States to accept the services of Volunteers, and to raise an additional regiment of Dragoons or Mounted Riflemen," approved May 23d, 1836, having this day expired by its own limitation, the Missouri Volunteers who have served in Florida, and all other Volunteers raised within this State, and held in readiness for the service of the United States, are hereby honorably discharged therefrom.

The Commander in Chief avails himself of the present occasion, in the name and in behalf of the State of Missouri, to tender to the Missouri Volunteers who served in Florida his warmest thanks, for the prompt manner in which they responded to the call of their country, for the efficient and faithful discharge of their duties during a long and arduous campaign, and for their glorious and valiant conduct on the field of battle. That notwithstanding attempts have been made to assail their reputation for bravery and efficiency and the reputation and efficiency of all similar troops, these attempts have fallen harmless to the ground, they carry their own refutation upon the face of them, and the Commander in Chief takes this method, being the first opportunity that has offered itself, of publicly repelling the slander, and manifesting his approbation of their conduct.

As a mark of respect for the memory of Major General Richard Gentry, who fell gallantly leading his men to battle, the General officers of Divisions and Brigades within the State and their respective Staff, will wear crape on the left arm for the space of thirty days.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief,

B. M. LISLE,
Ad'j. Gen'l. M. M.

May 26, 1838.

The various papers in the state are requested to publish the foregoing order.

B. M. LISLE, Ad'j. Gen'l.

MIMOSA TREES NOW GROW IN MISSOURI

From the Kansas City *Star*, September 29, 1929.

Twenty-seven years ago a little seed pod from a mimosa tree in China was inclosed in a letter to relatives in Carthage, Mo., by the Rev. W. F. Walker, a missionary, and the seeds planted in a yard of the Missouri city. As a result, specimens of this tree, a species generally considered to be tropical and known in America only in the states along the Gulf and Mexican border, are growing in Carthage, Kansas City and other cities of Missouri and the middle west.

The two little trees which grew from these seeds gave the start to the mimosa trees which are now so abundant in Carthage, and which are pointed out to and admired by many visitors. And the largest of the original Carthage mimosas now is about forty feet high, with a spread of fifty-one feet. Eight or ten trunks have come from the original root. Not even in China, where he spent thirty-five years in missionary work, did he see mimosas so large, said Mr. Walker when in Carthage last September.

The trees are indeed worthy of the admiration they excite with their pink, plume-like blossoms, soft as a powder puff and profusely borne, and delicate leaves like those of a sensitive plant. Unlike the leaves of the sensitive plant, however, those of the mimosa do not close at a touch, but do close and droop at nightfall.

The delicate pink flowers of the Carthage trees turn very bright, almost a red, after each rain. The blooming period in Missouri is from the middle of May until October, when the long seed pods begin to drop to the ground.

MURDER OF CAPTAIN HORACE SHOEMAKER

By Charles C. Bell in the Boonville *Central Missourian*, November 8, 1927.

Possibly no account of the capture of Boonville as published in the *Central Missourian* is incomplete without mentioning the deplorable assassination of Captain Horace Shoemaker, of which General Jo Shelby years afterwards (while serving as U. S. Marshal of the Western District of Missouri) said, "Of all my experience during the Civil War which I most deplore and regret—was the way Captain Shoemaker was assassinated after he and his men had surrendered to me at Boonville, under promise that their lives would be protected." Captain Shoemaker was a loyal farmer living near Billingsville. He enlisted on the Union side early, and in 1864 was commissioned captain and returned to Cooper county to recruit and organize a cavalry company of volunteer state guards with Julius Sombart as first lieutenant. The company was mustered into service August 2nd (myself being the youngest member).

Our duties consisted of escorting the stage coaches carrying the U. S. mail between Boonville and Tipton (Boonville had no railroad then), repairing telegraph lines—which often were cut by bushwhackers, taking

prisoners to Jefferson City and protecting the lives and property of loyal Union citizens. Capt. Shoemaker was a brave and conscientious man.

While stationed at Boonville he had brought his wife and two small children to town. One of the children was very ill. In surrendering he had mentioned this to Gen. Shelby, who promised to let him go to his family, detailing two men to escort him and to guard the house. The last time I saw Captain Shoemaker was when he came, accompanied by two guards, to see his men at the court house. The following night a bunch of Bill Anderson's men (as stated by Mrs. Shoemaker) came to his home on 3rd street with some written order that Capt. Shoemaker should come to Gen. Price's headquarters—at the City Hotel. On this order the guards permitted him to go—and this was the last known of Captain Shoemaker—just how and where they killed him no one knows. It is true that Capt. Shoemaker and his men, like Gen. Odon Guitar of the 9th Missouri stationed at Columbia, had some fighting with the bushwhackers, and that no mercy was shown when captured. But the assassination of Shoemaker after a honorable military surrender, as General Shelby said, "will ever remain the most regrettable occurrence of all my experience during the war."

COMMANDANT VALLE'S HOME STILL STANDS

From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, July 9, 1929.

Few are the tourists passing through Ste. Genevieve on State Highway No. 25 who do not pause for a longer look at an old residence—quaint, it is called by many—at the northwest corner of Main and Market streets. And the house is one of unusual interest, not only from the standpoint of appearance but of history.

Owned and occupied by J. V. Papin, who inherited it from his maternal grandmother, the building was erected in 1782 for M. Francois Valle, the French commandant who had charge of the little outpost that was then beyond the fringe of civilization. Entering the house or the board-fenced garden at the rear and side, is a step into the past.

The flags of four nations have floated above the old home, if the Bourbon and Napoleonic governments may be classed as separate rules. Between these sovereignties was the Spanish rule, and then with the Louisiana Purchase came the flag of the United States.

The house, while of an architectural style that may be called Spanish or Creole rather than French, has a real bit of France in the garden where stately trees, shrubs, flowers and vegetables have equal place. Under one of these trees, a lofty hickory almost two feet in diameter, Indians held their tribal meetings before and even after the coming of the French voyageurs who established a trading post here from which the more venturesome penetrated westward through the Ozarks in search of furs. The hickory now is referred to as the "council tree," because the Indians gathered about it to decide affairs of state.

In the rear is the old stable, built in 1812 and said to be the first concrete structure west of the Mississippi river.

Papin, descendant of one of the oldest families here, takes pride in his possession of the place, and should "M'sieu le commandant" enter today, he would not find the house or grounds greatly changed. There would be vegetables from the garden, flowers for the dinner table and a comfortable seat for an after-dinner pipe in the shade of the old hickory.

There is, however, one change—and Commandant Valle probably would enjoy that. A room in the basement, delightfully cool on the hottest day, has been made into a smoking room, with old glassware in cabinets at one side, a card table, comfortable chairs, an old-time fireplace, in which many a Yule log glowed in the days when this was slave quarters, and a reminder of the more recent past, a small keg suspended from a rafter.

"I enjoy working about the place and keeping it up," Papin remarked. "I don't want it to have the rundown appearance so many old places have."

PORK PACKING INDUSTRY IN NORTHWEST MISSOURI

By Douglass Stewart, in the Chillicothe *Constitution-Tribune*, February 20, 1929.

An article in the January, 1929, number of "The Missouri Historical Review" quoting from Wallace Farmer, and touching the pork packing industry carried on at Alexandria, Missouri, is very interesting, but just as interesting is the history of pork packing at Spring Hill, in Livingston county, between 1847 and 1861.

At the outbreak of the Civil war, Spring Hill had two packing establishments that marketed their products by shipping them down Grand River in flatboats to Brunswick, thence on steamboats to St. Louis, Memphis, and New Orleans.

One of its citizens, Jesse Nave, the founder of the town of Navetown, later changed to Spring Hill, about the year 1857 took a flatboat loaded with bacon down Grand river into the Missouri river and on down the Mississippi to the mouth of Red river, thence up Red river to Paris, Texas. There he traded his cargo of bacon for a large tract of land and dropped out of hearing of his family and friends. But about the year 1892 and 1893 someone in Paris, Texas, located his heirs in and around Spring Hill and they learned of the land and recovered it.

In those days, the county being sparsely settled, hogs were permitted to run at large, and fatten on the pannage (mast).

Each owner of live stock had his own marking of his stock indicated by certain clipping or slitting of the ears of the animal. Such marks were registered under the name of the owner with the County Clerk, as: "An under bit in the right and a slit in the left ear" or, "a swallow fork in the left and a crop off of the right ear," or "a crop off of both ears" and so on.

Many hogs were brought to packing establishments in droves; some were dressed at the farmer's home and brought in that way.

John Stewart, a merchant and hotel owner, was the first to start this industry in Spring Hill. This was about the year 1846 or 1847. In 1849, the date of the gold rush to California, he fitted out and equipped four

outfits for the gold fields, loading them with provisions. Later in 1854, James Leeper and his brother, John L. Leeper, opened up another packing house in that village. It flourished until the beginning of the Civil war.

There is still living in Kirksville, Missouri, and one of its prominent citizens who was twice or thrice its mayor, Dr. G. A. Goben. He was born in Spring Hill and on inquiry writes as to his remembrance of the packing industry there:

"Kirksville, Missouri,
January 27, 1929.

My dear friend:

"It was really refreshing to get your letter calling back friendships and childhood of our youthful days. You ask for some data in regard to slaughter houses and packing houses.

"If my memory serves me right, John Stewart was the first to establish a packing house (or plant) north and back of his hotel, and slaughtered, packed and shipped meat on flatboats on Grand river; and later James and John L. Leeper had a packing house and for a number of years freighted the product on flatboats down Grand river to Brunswick, thence by steamboat to St. Louis, New Orleans, and other points. Old man (Elias) Guthridge was employed to render the lard and was always on the job.

"My brother Charles and myself worked in that packing house cutting, trimming and packing the meat. Usually there would be large droves of hogs come in.

"I remember well how my brother, Charles, who was expert with the rifle, could shoot them so they would fall in their tracks, and never a squeal or run, then they were hooked in the nose and dragged to the scalding kettle in the same shed where the lard was rendered.

"And what a difference in the prices of meat in those days and now! Bacon was two and a half cents per pound; spareribs one cent, backbones and pigtails for nothing and not 'sandpapered' either. Perhaps you recall the boat yard on Grand river near McCallisters, later Leo Tiberghiens' place at the foot of the Indian Hill and potato hill just south of it. The boat landing was at the west end of what is now Lakeside Country Club grounds.

"In the gap between John Stewart would take his stand among the thick growth of timber and watch for his dogs to drive the deer through. He was a great hunter.

"A great many would bring their hogs to market already dressed; some with their heads cut off. This was considered suspicious as that obliterated the mark.

"My father, Levi F. Goben, and his father, William Goben, landed at a place north of Mooresville, on Grand river (now called Goben's Ford), on or about the first of August, 1831—the first actual white settlers in Livingston county.

Yours very friendly,
Dr. G. A. Goben."

HOW CORA ISLAND WAS NAMED

From the Echoes of the Streets column in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*,
October 28, 1929.

In relation to Cora Island, near the mouth of the Missouri river, title to which is now in litigation, we give place to the following letter:

Dear Sir—In Echoes of the Streets, I was especially interested in the item about Cora Island, created, it is said, by the sinking of the steamboat, Cora. This boat was named for me, by my father, Capt. Joseph Kinney. He was the owner of a number of boats on the Missouri river. This Cora was a sidewheel boat, and had made a number of trips to the mountains—Fort Benton and up the Yellowstone river. There were two boats named for me—the first Cora was a sternwheel boat, and sank, after a great while, near Omaha whence the name of "Cora Bend" in the river there. This Cora was the first sternwheel boat that traveled on the Missouri. My father thought that if a wheelbarrow could go with such ease on one wheel, why shouldn't a boat? She attracted much attention when she was brought around to St. Louis. When this boat, the Cora, was ready to make her first trip, the underwriters refused to insure her. They had no faith in a one-wheel boat. My father then had her loaded with freight, and carried his own insurance for a number of trips until all owned up to her success. When the second Cora was built, she was a sidewheeler. We three Kinney sisters live on the old Missouri's banks at what was once called Old Franklin. We enjoy, in fact, look forward every day to reading Echoes of the Streets.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Cora Kinney Hurt.

THE VEILED PROPHET—AL-MOKANNA

From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 8, 1929.

An interesting bit of history not generally known to his subjects attaches to the Veiled Prophet. With his satin gown, his winged crown and his long silvery beard he represents Al-Mokanna, the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan, immortalized by Thomas Moore, but back in the eighth century the Veiled Prophet really lived. The name of the historical character was Ahken Ibn Atta, sometimes termed Al-Haken Ibn Atta—the Silver Veil.

To account for the veil the story is told that, being blind in one eye, he wore a covering to conceal his deformity. He had many followers, and so great was his influence upon them, and so powerful they had become, that the Caliph Al-Mahdi sent an army to capture him. The Prophet was defeated and retired to a fortress in southern Arabia. There he was besieged, and rather than be captured he plunged himself into a vat of corrosive acids—whence he arises like the Phoenix to delight St. Louis revelers.

MARK TWAIN ON THE PILGRIMS

From the St. Louis *Republican*, December 30, 1881.

Mark Twain attended the banquet of the New England Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia last evening, and in the course of a very witty speech said:

"I rise to protest. I have kept still for years, but really I think there is no sufficient justification for this sort of thing. What do you want to celebrate those people for?—those ancestors of yours, of 1620—the Mayflower tribe I mean. What do you want to celebrate *them* for? Your pardon; the gentleman at my left assures me that you are not celebrating the Pilgrims themselves, but the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth rock on the 22nd of December. So you are celebrating their landing. Why, the other pretext was thin enough, but this is thinner than ever; the other was tissue, tin-foil, fish-bladder, but this is gold leaf. Celebrating their landing! What was there remarkable about it, I would like to know? What can you be thinking of? Why, those Pilgrims had been at sea three or four months. It was the very middle of winter; it was as cold as death off Cape Cod, there. Why shouldn't they come ashore? If they hadn't landed, there would be some reason in celebrating the fact. It would have been a case of monumental leather-headedness which the world would not willingly let die.

"People always progress. You are better than your fathers and grandfathers were. (This is the first time I have ever aimed a measureless slander at the departed, for I consider such things improper.) Yes, those among you who have not been in the penitentiary, if such there be, are better than your fathers and grandfathers were; but is that any sufficient reason for getting up annual dinners and celebrating you? No, by no means—by no means. Well, I repeat, those Pilgrims were a hard lot. They took good care of themselves, but they abolished everybody else's ancestors. I am a border ruffian from the banner state of Missouri; I am a Connecticut Yankee by adoption. In me you have Missouri morals, Connecticut culture; this, gentlemen, is the combination which makes the perfect man. But where are my ancestors? Whom shall I celebrate? Where shall I find the raw material? My first American ancestor, gentlemen, was an Indian; an early Indian; your ancestors skinned him alive, and I am an orphan. Not one drop of my blood flows in that Indian's veins today. I stand here alone and forlorn, without an ancestor. They skinned him. I do not object to that, if they needed his fur. But alive, gentlemen, alive! They skinned him alive! And before company. That is what rankles. Think how he must have felt; for he was a sensitive person and easily embarrassed. If he had been a bird it would have been all right, and no violence done to his feelings, because he would have been considered "dressed" but he was not a bird gentlemen, he was a man, and probably one of the most undressed men that ever was. I ask you to put yourselves in his place. I ask it as a favor; I ask it as a tardy act of justice; I ask it in the interest of fidelity to the traditions of your ancestors; I

ask that the world may contemplate, with vision unobstructed by dis-
guising swallow-tails and white cravats, the spectacle which the true New
England society ought to present. Cease to come to these annual orgies
in this hollow modern mockery—this surplusage of raiment. Come in
character, come in the summer grace, come in the unadorned simplicity,
come in the free and joyous costume which your sainted ancestors provided
for mine.

"Now, listen to me. Why do you wish to perpetuate these societies?
I want you to stop right here and disband. Begin by selling Plymouth
Rock at auction. In the great wealth of rocks in New England this par-
ticular rock would bring perhaps thirty-five cents. If you don't sell it
throw it open to the patent medicine man. Do something to make a
start. On this table I see water and milk and even the deadly lemonade.
You are on the downward path. In a few years you will surely reach
cider. Pause while it is not too late. But still I have as high an opinion
of you and your ancestry as I can under the circumstances. My grand-
father used to say that it would be hard to improve on the good old Ply-
mouth stock—unless the person were born in Missouri."—(Reprinted
from the *New York Mail*.)

A DANIEL BOONE DOCUMENT

From the Kansas City *Star*, October 11, 1929, by the Jefferson City
Bureau.

When the descendants of Daniel Boone meet in St. Louis next year
for their reunion, in response to the recent invitation of Governor Caul-
field, they will find there an interesting addition to the collection of relics
of the famous frontiersman. It is the original deed, now yellow with age,
by which Daniel Boone disposed of the last of his holdings in St. Charles
county, Missouri.

The document was located in Florida a short time ago, after having
been lost to public view since 1904, when it was exhibited at the World's
Fair in St. Louis. Dated May 6, 1815, and signed by the hand of America's
most renowned wilderness trail blazer, it records the sale of 130 acres on
the Missouri river to William Cashow. It was witnessed by Daniel
Morgan Boone, the pioneer's son, and acknowledged before John M.
Callaway, a justice of the peace.

The deed, written on linen paper, which is now faded and torn, is
reproduced here in part, with spellings unchanged:

This Indenture, made and entered into this sixth day of May in the
year of our Lord One Thousand, Eight Hundred and Fifteen in the county
of Saint Charles and in the Territory of Missouri, by and between Daniel
Boone of said county and said territory, party of the county and territory
aforesaid of the first part, and William Cashow of the other part: WIT-
NESSETH; that the said Daniel Boone for and in consideration of Three
Hundred and Twenty Dollars money in the United States to him in hand
paid by William Cashow, the receipt thereof and of every part thereof is

hereby acknowledged . . . doth by this presence bargain, sell, cede, release and enfeoff unto William Cashow his heirs and the assigns forever all that certain tract or parcel of LAND lying and being situate on the Missouri River in the County of Saint Charles and the territory of Missouri . . . one hundred and thirty acres.

DANIEL BOONE. (Seal)

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of Daniel M. Boone, John M. Callaway.

The aged document is now in the possession of John M. Reilly, a St. Louis real estate dealer, who now owns the Daniel Boone land, and who obtained the historic deed from Mrs. Mary A. Matson of Fort Myers, Fla.

Any authentic information concerning the lands of the famous pioneer is welcomed by students of history now, especially in view of the land troubles the trail blazer is known to have experienced. Twice in his career, Daniel Boone lost all his holdings through defective titles. The first loss was his Kentucky land. He then moved to Missouri and received 10,000 arpents (an arpent is 85-100ths of an acre) from the Spanish government of Upper Louisiana in St. Louis.

Since Boone neglected to have the grant confirmed by the crown agent in New Orleans, the United States commissioner was compelled to disallow his claim. Congress, petitioned for restoration of the land, plus the thousand arpents granted to every settler in Upper Louisiana, admitted he was entitled to all this land, but merely granted the thousand arpents given to each settler.

The 500-acre tract purchased by Reilly includes part of Daniel Morgan Boone's 600 arpents. This and the Daniel Boone property came to the Matsons through the Cashow family, who bought the land from the Boones.

Mrs. Matson, who is now 73 years old, writes of her memories of the Missouri home in which she spent many years and locates spots of interest to students of the Boone family history.

"Daniel Boone never had a home in Missouri," she writes. "He only owned 1,000 arpents of land in the Missouri river valley. He lived with his son, Daniel Morgan Boone, in the yard where the John T. Lowrys now occupy a brick house."

Daniel Boone, as Mrs. Matson mentions, only had a home with his children. His wife, Rebecca, died before his title to the land was assured, and he spent his few remaining years with his children.

When Boone died, it is said, a grave was dug beside that of his wife, but it was found to be occupied. Another grave was then dug at the head of Rebecca Boone's, and her husband was buried there. When removal of the bodies was undertaken, Rebecca Boone's grave and that alongside were opened. But the grave at the head of Rebecca's was left untouched.

KIT CARSON AND INDIAN JUSTICE

From the Kansas City *Star*, July 7, 1929.

Dr. Edwin R. Heath, of Rosedale, Kansas, as a boy 9 years old, together with his father and mother, a brother and a baby sister, made the long journey across the plains to California in a wagon train led by "Kit" Carson himself.

It was in 1847 that the Heath family left its home in Wisconsin and joined a wagon train bound for California. At the Missouri river, Christopher Carson, then a famous Indian agent and scout, joined the caravan to lead the settlers through the territory of the savage Sioux.

Not far from the frontier of civilization, a cruel deed of one of the men in the wagon train nearly cost the lives of the entire band.

"We had camped not far from a village of friendly Indians," Dr. Heath tells the story. "All the way out, one of the men, who was inclined to be a bully and a braggart, had made the boast he would kill the first Indian he saw.

"While the rest of the party was in camp this man went out to hunt rabbits in the nearby timber.

"Whether he was drunk at the time, or half crazy, I don't know, but at any rate he came upon an Indian woman from the village on her way to the stream for water and he shot her in cold blood. Then he came back and gleefully asserted we would have at least one Indian less to worry about.

"Next day the wagon train moved on, but of course the Indians found the body of the murdered squaw, and found the man's tracks leading back to where the wagons had been.

"In no time they took to the war path and set out after us, overtaking us on the banks of a little creek.

"All of our men prepared for a pitched battle at once, and the wagons were drawn into formation for the fight, bunched in a circle for greater protection.

"Before any blood had been spilled, however, Kit Carson like the great old diplomat that he was, arranged for a council with the Indian chief and some of the braves. They demanded that we surrender the murderer and said they would kill every white man in our party if he were not given up.

"There was a brief council among the whites, and we finally decided to give him up, since it was his life or the lives of the entire party. But we couldn't find him.

"While the council of war was being held, the man had hidden himself. I don't remember now whether it was my sister or I who first saw him, but we found him crouched in one of our trundle beds under the bunk in the back of my father's wagon.

"We children were badly frightened, for we expected the Indians to swoop down upon us at any moment, and we could imagine the consequences when they found the man they were hunting in our wagon.

"Father finally persuaded him to give himself up to save the lives of all the others, so laying his gun aside, he walked out and let them take him.

"The Indians had their own way of dealing out justice. We were ordered to move on, and I shall never forget my last glimpse of their unfortunate victim.

"They had dug a pit in the ground and buried him alive with only his head above the ground. There we had to leave him, to the tender mercies of the coyotes.

"But those were days of swift retribution, and his punishment was no more cruel than the cowardly deed which was responsible for it."

HISTORIC BOONVILLE BUILDING

By Charles Van Ravensway, in the Boonville *Daily News*, September 9, 1929.

For 112 years the old brick building on Morgan street, now known as the Gray Hotel, has watched the passing of time.

A short time after Asa Morgan had, with the assistance of Lucas laid out Boonville, he built himself a fine brick mansion.

It was indeed a mansion for that period because the ordinary type of house was of logs, containing two rooms at best.

The Morgan house is not one that would command the attention of the casual observer. Time has dealt harshly with the exterior. Its shutters have been discarded, a porch added, and many of its original "nine pane" windows have been replaced with the large single panes.

One must see the inside to be impressed. There nearly all the original woodwork remains.

The house in all contained about 12 rooms, with what would ordinarily be called the basement and attic, finished off for use. Apparently the first section of the house built is the east half, for it was built in two sections. The woodwork is of soft white pine, upon which the marks of the plane can still be seen. The doors all contain the "Christian" paneling which was originally used with the intention of warding away evil spirits and witches. The mantels with their cupboards on either side attract particular interest. Delicately proportioned, they are styled after the manner of the brothers Adam, English architects of the eighteenth century, and although quite simple in detail, are no doubt the first bit of grace and decoration to be found in Boonville homes.

In the lower rooms the rough hewn beams in the ceiling are exposed and in nearly all of the rooms the original wide, uneven floor boards remain. Another interesting feature is the chair-rail built around the wall in one of the rooms. It served the useful purpose of preventing the tilted backs of chairs from wearing holes in the plastering. There are also steep, dark stairways, a wide rear veranda, and great chimneys.

One of the most interesting surprises one has is the discovery of the remains of an old log cabin to the rear of the house, about which a number of interesting stories are told.

That it is Boonville's most venerable building is undoubtedly true while the brick house which so completely overshadows it is Boonville's first brick building. The hotel is now operated by Mr. and Mrs. T. M. Gray.

THE ROBIDOUX FAMILY

From the *St. Joseph Gazette*, September 8, 1929.

Back of St. Joseph, its earlier history, and many of its traditions, stands the name of Joseph Robidoux, one of the first explorers of this territory, founder of the city, and active in developing the young frontier town over many years.

But behind Joseph Robidoux himself stands a broader tradition of pioneering—that of the Robidoux family, merchants, explorers and discoverers. While St. Joseph today stands as a living monument to the family, the founding and growth of the town represent only an episode in the pioneering history of the adventurous Robidoux clan.

The Joseph Robidoux who founded St. Joseph was at least the third of a direct line of Josephs. His father was born in Montreal, Canada, in 1750. The first Joseph, born in 1722, was a shoe dealer in Montreal, but feeling the explorative urge which seems to have been deep-rooted in the family, came south to St. Louis in 1770 with his son. It was in that year that Spanish dominion in the upper Louisiana purchase, of which Missouri is a part, began.

From that time on the name of Robidoux is closely woven into the history of St. Louis for a considerable period. Joseph II was active in formation of a company for development of then unexplored territory along the Missouri river. But a few years later when business methods of one of the members had drawn protests, and other merchants in the company had withdrawn, Robidoux was the writer of a petition to the territorial governor protesting against the undesirable associate.

His name appeared in subscription lists of donations to help Spain in its wars, and in other important documents of the period.

After the United States took over the Louisiana territory in 1804, the first General Assembly of the new Missouri territory, in 1812, was held in the home where Joseph II had lived in St. Louis. The father of St. Joseph's founder had died March 17, 1809.

Joseph III, whose adventures will be taken up later, was born August 10, 1783, the first of ten children. Francis, 1788; Margaret, 1790; the others were: Lewis, 1785; Pierre Isidore, 1791; Antoine, 1794; Louis, 1796; Michel, 1798; Eulalie, 1800; Pelagie, 1802.

Joseph II had been one of the St. Louis merchants active in outfitting the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-05. It was only natural that his sons should be interested in the mysterious lands along the great

turbid river that went coiling away into the Northwest from St. Louis. Young Joseph III came, as early as 1803, into the region where he later founded his town, and returned to St. Louis after sundry adventures with the Blacksnake Indians. He and his brothers, Francis and Isidore, traded in what is now northwest Missouri and northern Kansas, while other members of the family were seeking adventure elsewhere.

These were Louis and Antoine. Antoine followed the trails of Zebulon Pike and other explorers into the southwest and thence to Colorado. It is claimed he was the first white man to cross the front ranges of the Colorado Rockies west of where Denver now stands. Antoine had been in Santa Fe, N. M., for some years before he turned to Colorado. In the latter state he founded a trading post near the junction of the Uncompahgre and Gunnison rivers in Delta county, in the southwestern part of the state.

This post was at one time the headquarters of Kit Carson. . . . While in Santa Fe, in 1826, he had married Carmel Benavides, the sixteen-year-old daughter of an aristocratic Spanish family.

Louis, who had also gone to Santa Fe, heard the call of new adventures still further west, and turned to California. He was in the California territory at the time of the world-famous gold discoveries. He became a prosperous rancher near Jurupa, which later became Riverside, and finished his life there peacefully.

Little record is available of the life of the sixth brother, Michel, but it is apparent his existence was less adventurous, as was the case with the sisters.

(Editor's Note: This is the first of a series of articles concerning the Robidoux family which appeared in the *St. Joseph Gazette*.)







